



A black and white photograph showing a group of approximately ten children of various ages sitting on the floor in what appears to be a classroom or a community setting. They are all facing towards the right side of the frame. Some are looking directly at the camera, while others have their heads down. The lighting is somewhat dim, and the overall atmosphere is one of a simple, perhaps rural, educational environment.

CUBA Ten Years After

A QUAKER TEAM'S REPORT
ON A VISIT TO THE REVOLUTION

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Introduction

FROM OCTOBER 5 to 31, 1969 a four-man mission sent by the American Friends Service Committee visited all six provinces of Cuba, as guests of the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples (ICAP). Arrangements for this visit began early that year in New York through discussions with members of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations. When Betty Richardson Nute, a staff member of the Quaker United Nations Office, visited Cuba for two weeks in June, final agreement for the visit and a tentative itinerary were arranged with Cuban officials. The visit was originally scheduled for August 11 to September 8, but at the request of the Cubans it was postponed until October.

The U.S. Department of State validated the passports of the three American members of the mission, so that we were able to fly to Cuba from Mexico City and return the same way. The Mexican government will not issue return visas to American visitors to Cuba unless they have U.S. State Department approval. Other visitors usually return to the States via Madrid or Prague, a much more costly journey. The round-trip flight from Mexico City via Cubana Airlines costs approximately \$121.

The primary purpose of this mission was to acquaint the three American members, each of whom is working in the peace education program of the AFSC, with present conditions in Cuba, so that we could report to American audiences a firsthand picture of life in revolutionary

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Cover drawing and design by Mark Morris

Front inner cover, Pre-school children dance at Juan Manuel Marquez School west of Havana. Back cover, New apartment house, Distrito José Martí, Santiago. Above, some of the houses they replace. Back inner cover, A tractor hauls a load of roofing materials through the Oriente countryside.

Cuba and give some suggestions on the improvement of relations between the United States and Cuba. Other purposes were to continue the infrequent contacts American Friends have had with Cuban Friends in recent years, and to discuss future AFSC projects and action in relation to Cuba.

Members of the mission were Russell Johnson from the New England Regional office of AFSC, William Jeffries of the Southeastern Region, James Newton from the Pacific Southwest Region and Rafael Ruiz, a Mexican citizen and former AFSC volunteer in Vietnam, who served as the group's interpreter. As both Rafael Ruiz and James Newton are fluent in Spanish, members of the mission were able to communicate readily with the Cubans.

Although a tentative itinerary had been agreed on during Betty Nute's June visit, her principal Cuban contact was absent from Cuba when the mission arrived and planning had to be worked out anew. The ICAP representatives suggested what they wanted the mission to see and the mission members expressed their own desires. The final arrangements were a compromise. Less time was spent on the processes of the Revolution and more given to its progress than we would have desired. Nevertheless, the mission covered a lot of ground, travelling in 1958 and 1959 model Cadillacs and Soviet-built aircraft. We observed the effects of the Revolution on education, agriculture, housing, industry and medical and other social welfare services. We discussed political, economic and social issues with key individuals in factories, schools, farms, government organizations, the Communist Party and the churches, and with private citizens we met casually or through mutual friends.

Almost every day we were "on our own" after about 5:00 o'clock. We were able to arrange private appointments and move about quite freely, unescorted. Although we often wandered through the streets of the cities we visited, sometimes late at night, we were never accosted by police or other officials inquiring about our identity or purposes. This, and the absence of uniformed police in the streets, gave us the feeling that we were not in the sort of "police state" many Americans imagine Cuba to be. Granted, we were not suspected of encouraging counterrevolutionary activity, which is dealt with severely by the Cuban government.

Our hosts had arranged hospitality for us at the Habana Libre Hotel (formerly the Havana Hilton, completed in 1958 just before the Revolution), where we shared two air-conditioned suites on the ninth floor overlooking the entry to Havana harbor and Morro Castle across the channel. While in the hotel we dined more sumptuously than we desired, in the third-floor guest dining room. When we occasionally entertained guests, we would dine on the second floor in the Las Antillas dining room,



(Team Members) Rafael Ruiz, James Newton, Russell Johnson, William Jeffries interview Osvaldo Triana (in dark glasses, a national director of the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution). Below, the team lunches with personnel of the tobacco station Pinar del Rio.

where we paid directly for their meals. Otherwise, our entire hospitality was provided by ICAP and our own purchases were confined to haircuts, postage stamps, the cinema and such. We were able to telephone family members in the United States from the hotel, making payment in dollars converted into pesos. The rate of exchange is one to one, and in terms of costs, this is unfavorable to the dollar. An average meal in the dining rooms we used would have cost from seven to nine dollars.

Elsewhere in Cuba we were housed in facilities that ranged from good to excellent, and most arrangements were carried out efficiently. We had hoped to visit the Isle of Youth (formerly the Isle of Pines), but our hosts said they were unable to entertain us there at that time. We assured them we could manage just as the young people who are building a communist society there are managing, but to no avail. The promised alternative – several days of cane-cutting with the Centenary Youth Column in Camagüey – did not work out because, said our hosts, the Column was too heavily occupied preparing itself for the great sugar harvest to spend much time with us.

We have written this report in order to share our experiences and impressions with other Americans, hoping that we may thus help bring about a better understanding of life in present-day Cuba. We do not attempt to judge conditions or practices with which we have had no direct encounter. We cannot comment on the numbers or living conditions of political prisoners, for instance, or on the possibility that Cuba may be training “revolutionaries for export.” Such sensitive or secret areas of activity were not open to our investigation. On the other hand, we traveled widely in Cuba, inspecting many industrial and agricultural facilities and talking with people from all walks of life. Our intent here is to describe the island nation as we saw it and to communicate the human atmosphere of contemporary Cuban society as it was reflected in the lives and conversations of people we met.

I.

The Evolving Society

TOWARD A NEW MAN

REVOLUTIONARY CUBA'S moral emphasis has been described by Latin Americanist Rabbi Everett E. Gendler¹ as posing a challenge to religion “at a deeper, existential level” than the challenge of the Marxist assertion that religion will wither when its function of consoling the exploited masses becomes obsolete. The goal of this moral thrust is to produce a utopian society in which people will deliberately work for the good of all. The method is to make men aware of their neighbors' needs within the framework of the whole society's best interests, motivating them to work unselfishly to meet those needs.

In a speech delivered on July 26, 1968, the 15th anniversary of his historic attack on the Moncada Fortress, Fidel Castro defined the great task of the Revolution:²

To form the New Man ... the man of truly revolutionary ... truly socialist conscience, truly communist conscience ... No human society has yet achieved communism ... A communist society ... means that the human being has become capable of living that level of understanding, friendship and brotherhood which on occasion has been realized in the intimate family circle. To live in a communist society is to live without egotism ... as though ... every one of our fellow citizens were our most beloved brother.

So to stimulate a man by money that he fulfills his duties more completely is to acquire conscience with money. To give men collectively more wealth *because* they have fulfilled their responsibilities and produced more and created more for the entire society, that is to convert conscience into wealth. Communism certainly cannot be established ... unless wealth is created in abundance. But the path, in our judgment, is ... to create ... always more collective wealth by means of more collective conscientiousness.

Major Ernesto Che Guevara is thought of as a model for the New Man. In public buildings and on billboards everywhere we went, Che's portrait appeared with revolutionary slogans or exhortations to the people to follow his example. Elementary school children whose classes we visited proudly recited such slogans as "We are Pioneers. We will be like Che." Che is admired by Cubans as a man of outstanding courage and self-sacrificial dedication. He is the physician who left his profession to struggle for the common people, the intellectual socialist theoretician, the Argentine who stepped beyond nationalist aspirations to play a leading role in Cuba's liberation, the organizer of Cuba's industrialization efforts during the early years of the Revolution's power. As a veteran guerrilla and the author of the Latin world's definitive text on guerrilla warfare, he is also a rallying symbol for believers in armed struggle as the road to victory over imperialism.

At the height of his Bolivian campaign (1966-67), Che wrote in his diary:

At night I brought everybody together and gave them the following lecture: We are in a difficult situation: Pacho has gotten better today but I am just a human carcass...It is one of those moments when great decisions must be taken: This type of struggle gives us the opportunity not only to turn ourselves into revolutionaries, the highest level of the human species, but it also allows us to graduate as men; those who cannot reach either one of these two stages should say so and leave the struggle.³

Che's belief in arduous struggle as an active element in man's individual and collective evolution and the call to triumph over hardship through will-power figure prominently in Cuban plans to form the New Man.

Cuba's economic system prior to 1959 was not designed to nurture a collective conscientiousness. According to economist James O'Connor,

"During the twentieth century the island's economy acquired the significant characteristics of monopoly capitalism, chief among which was the cartelization of markets. Monopoly controls blanketed Cuba's social economy and blocked the fulfillment of the island's true economic potential, by wasting land, labour, and capital, and other economic resources."⁴ The Revolution has changed all that, but replacing attitudes and practices appropriate to such a system cannot be done so rapidly. Life in the "army of the unemployed" — as several Cubans referred to the old system's 600,000 chronically unemployed people — taught many that survival depends on individual grasping within a collective jungle. No doubt people did not ordinarily gain a position in the 22 per cent or so of the island's population that could be labeled the "middle or upper class" sector⁵ by working selflessly for the good of the more than 70 per cent who languished in poverty.

Most of the prosperous people left Cuba in the years following the triumph of the Revolution. While their exodus deprived Cuba of many of her managers and professionals, it also relieved her of those people who had found the private profit system most rewarding. Responsible positions once occupied by individuals who might have proven resistant to change are now filled by men who count among their job qualifications a staunch adherence to the official revolutionary line. It is well known both inside and outside Cuba that the Castro government is free of corruption in high places, and even those few Cubans who spoke bitterly of the Revolution acknowledged that a provincial or lower level official who used his position selfishly would be the exception rather than the rule.

The battle to form a New Man will be won or lost among the masses of non-official Cubans, where self-seeking on a small scale may produce problems that are very serious in the aggregate. Absenteeism, the practice of playing hooky from one's place of employment in order to relax or grow some garden products for home use, is discussed prominently in the mass media and condemned in imaginative cartoon posters at work centers. A Baptist minister who was quite sympathetic to the Revolution explained to us that the black market partially frustrates the government's attempts to diminish the importance of money. The abolition of unemployment — with the consequence that many families have several wage-earners — means that most people have more money than they can spend for rationed and other available goods. Prices for black market goods, such as fine cigarettes, rise higher with increases in the amount of circulating money for which there is no legitimate use. Citing Mao Tse-tung's contention that farmers will start a black market if a government is unable to solve problems of distribution satisfactorily, our clergy friend told us that the pigs and chickens he could have served for

500 pesos two years ago at a church gathering now cost 1500 pesos.

Fidel Castro has repeatedly declared the Revolution's faith that the New Man can and will be formed in spite of such problems. The government seems to openly recognize these problems, perceiving that confronting them is less dangerous than ignoring them. Nevertheless, fading paint and cracking plaster form a setting for long lines of consumers waiting to buy rationed goods or to eat in restaurants. Heavily crowded busses move through the ever-thinning traffic of motley old autos kept running by ingenuity and determination. Young men bursting with the pride of national independence and new education have precious little opportunity to express their exuberance in unproductive fun. The ration card, understood as a guarantee of access to food and dry goods by those who were poor before, is seen by some as government-imposed asceticism. These and other annoyances and tests of patience limit the length of time that the public can wait for more collective wealth to make its appearance. Development programs sent down from the top must promote the simultaneous growth of collective conscientiousness and collective wealth if the society of the New Man is to have its chance. Efforts to accomplish this dual growth take several general forms:

(1) *Credible leadership*. Individuals in positions of responsibility are expected to practice what they preach. Party officials and administrators of industrial work centers identify themselves with the masses and share their living conditions, including ration cards and housing allocated according to family needs. Dangers are shared as well. A film we saw in the office of ICAIC (Cuban Institute of Cinematographic Arts and Industries) included scenes of Fidel Castro, in hard hat and raincoat, directing rescue and storm defense operations, working in cyclone conditions that nearly killed him at one point.

(2) *New institutions*. Cuba's new judicial, political and military structures are designed to reflect New Man idealism. Since they assume no separation between the government and the people, experience within them is expected to sharpen the social consciousness of the people. They are considered both building blocks of the new society and active agents in the formation of the New Man.

(3) *Moral appeals*. People of all ages and occupations are urged to devote extra time to their own work and renounce extra wages due them for overtime. Periodically awarded symbols of success in collective efforts are displayed prominently in work centers that win them. Many centers, for instance, now fly the red and black "Martyrs of Moncada" banner. Winning

such an award brings tangible gains to the workers at a center as well, for it qualifies them for full pay and other benefits during times of illness. Since most centers have won at least one award, these benefits are now almost universally enjoyed. Although collective awards have largely replaced individual awards as incentives some years ago and the black banners once given to the least productive work center of an area have been eliminated, personal recognition for work is still used as an incentive in some places. In the Havana arts and crafts work center we visited, each work group had its poster with space for the names of individuals whose fellow workers had voted them "vanguard" (name slot decorated with smiling cartoon faces) or "absentee" (decorated with sour faces). All the slots for absentees were blank or contained witty penciled-in graffiti, an indication that the workers are not taking that particular sanction too seriously.

The people are encouraged to spend their leisure time, including vacations, in voluntary agricultural labor. The central emphasis during our visit was put on mobilization for the *zafra*, inaugurated just three days before we left. Hundreds of thousands of people are released from their normal tasks to engage in this great cane harvest, while co-workers assume extra duties at the work center. Every work center, government departments included, is assigned a section of agricultural land to be tended regularly by workers of that center. This task is voluntary in the same sense that buying government bonds with one's co-workers was voluntary in the U.S. during World War II. Voluntary labor and collective incentives are measures intended to increase production and develop socialist attitudes at the same time.

(4) *Regimentation*: Widespread social controls are being instituted in Cuba, as individualism is downgraded in favor of collective efforts planned and coordinated centrally. Ration cards control buying. The Ministry of Labor approves requests for job changes and directs people to areas of work where they are needed. School children wear uniforms, chant slogans and click their heels noisily as they move along in martial files. Universal military conscription incorporates all males into military service for three years, during most of which time the soldier is engaged in productive work. Some 45,000 young volunteers in Camagüey's Centenary Column are organized in a military fashion and receive 20 days of military training before their three years of agricultural work begin (this can fulfill a young man's conscription obligation). The Communist Brigade for Construction and Assembly is but one of many production efforts organized on a military model.

(5) *Attention to the young*: The Revolution is investing much time and

money in young people. Education programs include politically oriented material expressing Marxist-Leninist concepts, even for elementary school students. Elementary school students are given opportunities to learn agricultural skills, secondary school students spend a month or so in agricultural labor as a regular part of each year's study, and university students may spend months studying part-time and working part-time at an industrial or agricultural work center. We met members of a group of five political science students who were spending four months in such a program at the Sugar Central Panamá, near Camagüey. The Revolution seems to believe that giving youth responsibility for avant-garde experiments in communism will speed the development of the new society — the Centenary Column in Camagüey and the young people on the Isle of Youth have an open bank, meaning they are given all the trucks, cement and other items they request.

In the following section of this report we will discuss economic aspects of Cuba's efforts to increase the national wealth and develop a collective conscientiousness simultaneously. Subsequent sections contain our impressions of the state of society — social conditions, egalitarianism, attitudes of officialdom and the people toward each other, church-state relations, racial equality, youth and individualism.

II.

Economic Development

IN OUR CONVERSATIONS with a former Pontiac service manager, a member of the bourgeoisie who did not leave, he expressed his enthusiasm for the Revolution by stating that "there is a real man" at the head of the government and that "Cuba belongs to us now." This second attitude reflects a striking difference between Cuba today and its neighbors. Eighty per cent of Venezuelan oil, 90 per cent of Chilean copper, 50 per cent of Brazil's iron and rolled metal, meat and textile industries are owned by foreign capital, mainly North American.⁶ By nationalizing the foreign-owned concerns that formerly exercised similar control over Cuban resources, Fidel Castro gave proof of his intention to free Cuba from foreign domination.

Before the Revolution, not only was sugar, the major enterprise of Cuba, largely in North American hands, but most of the arable land was possessed by a handful of families, as in Chile and Brazil today, where 2 per cent own 50 per cent of the arable land. When we visited Mayarí, in Oriente Province, we were told that the entire valley, with some 35,000 inhabitants, was owned by two families before the Revolution. The Agrarian Reform Law of May 17, 1959 began a process of land redistribution which has resulted in the state today owning 70 per cent of the land, farmed by large collectives, *granjas* or People's Farms, and the remainder in the hands of small farmers. Private holdings are limited to 165 acres.

Because sugar was seen as a symbol of colonialism, the government cut back on production. European socialist models for development were transplanted to Cuban soil. Both of these approaches turned out to be disastrous, so policies were changed, exemplifying the trial-and-error approach of the early years of the Revolution.

Statistics can be tiresome, but they are important in understanding the extent of new development in Cuba. We will cite figures frequently in this section. It should be understood that these figures are drawn largely from Cuban sources.

Agriculture

Sugar. The tall smokestacks of the sugar *centrales* (mills) are distinctive landmarks. Sugar cane seems to grow everywhere, but especially in Central and Eastern Cuba. It is a perennial and may be productive for 15 to 20 years, though it needs careful cultivation and abundant water. Because of the shortage of agricultural workers, great efforts are being made to mechanize the entire process of production. This is moving forward, with the exception of harvesting. From what we learned, a foolproof mechanical harvester has not yet been designed. Much back-breaking labor with the machete still remains.

While we were in Cuba great stress was given the 10-million-ton *zafra* (sugar harvest) for 1969-70. The entire population was being mobilized for the effort. We saw refurbished mills, mechanical loaders and hundreds of new tractors and wagons ready for the harvest. We talked with an East German scientist in charge of a team of technicians who had been helping to get the mills ready and who was confident that the harvest would be reached.*

Rice. Before the Revolution, wheat was the principal grain consumed in Cuba, and that was imported from the United States. Rice can be grown in Cuba, and greater attention is being given it today. Cuba hopes to be self-sufficient in rice in another year or two. We saw evidence of its importance when we visited a very large Rice Plan**near Florida in Camagüey Province. As far as the eye could see green stalks were waving in the afternoon breeze. This area was once covered by a tenacious weed, the

* As of summer 1970, it became apparent that the sugar harvest would be closer to eight million than ten million tons. Fidel Castro congratulated the people for cutting more than enough cane to yield ten million tons of sugar, blaming the deficit on inadequate milling facilities. (See Castro's May 20, 1970 radio-TV address to the Cuban people.)

** Plan refers to an area marked for development according to a specific program drawn up in advance.

marabú. Today rice is sown, fertilized and fumigated (with insecticides) from the air and harvested with large combines imported from the Soviet Union. The Cubans have obtained the new ER-8 variety of rice developed in the Philippines. The harvest is from November to January, although the possibility exists for two crops a year, one in cold weather and one in hot. We also visited a large mill and storehouses nearby, where the director talked enthusiastically about the increase in production taking place.

Fruit. Orange, grapefruit, lemon, lime and other native varieties of citrus grow well in Cuba, and production is being pushed. We were told that exports to Europe and Canada take much of the crop today. Certainly little seemed available for local consumption. We visited the Plan Cordón de la Habana, the green belt around the city, and were shown the many fruit orchards recently planted. Mango, avocado, and litchi are but a few of the other fruits growing here. This is one of many plans for increasing fruit production. Near Ciego de Avila, a town in Camagüey Province, we visited a new pineapple plantation where 3,000 *caballerías* (33.2 acres per *caballería*) will be planted by 1973. Half of the labor on this farm is voluntary. They expected to harvest 20,000 tons of pineapple in 1970, and this is a small proportion of the total Cuban production. This farm is also highly mechanized.

Lumber. In many parts of Cuba we saw evidence of reforestation. In the green belt around Havana trees will help purify the air. A commonly planted tree is the casuarina, a tropical pine that grows quickly and is a good windbreak. The stress on forestry was another evidence of Cuban efforts to plan well for the future.

Cattle. Green grass grows all year, and waste (bagaso) from the sugar mills is an excellent fodder for cattle. We were told there are about 8 million cattle in Cuba now, about one per person, compared with 5 million before the Revolution — many of those slaughtered. We visited a large dairy plan in Camagüey Province where the new F-1 breed (cross between Holstein for milk production and *Cebú* for hardiness in Cuban temperatures) is being developed. There are 14 artificial insemination centers in Cuba, one of which, Rosafré Signet, we visited near Havana. There we saw Black Velvet, the \$100,000 Canadian grand champion, one of 10,000 imported bulls being used to upgrade Cuban cattle. Semen, processed and frozen here, is available at no cost to all cattle growers, including private farms. The Center director told us that by 1975 milk production will be quadrupled over 1970.

Fish. We were told that at present some 100,000 tons of fish are caught annually, compared with 25,000 tons in 1958. The fishing fleet is being mechanized and improved. We visited Ciudad Pesquera (Fishing City), a fishing collective near Manzanillo in Oriente Province, where shrimp is the specialty. In a modern processing and freezing plant we toured there, shrimp is prepared for export in attractive packages under the "Caribbean Queen" label. The plant processes 5,500,000 pounds a year. Three to four thousand families are involved in this fishing city. Many live nearby in their own new government-built town, which we visited. Small but attractive single-family dwellings line streets highlighted by the flowers, shrubs and vines that decorate all the Cuban landscape.

Tobacco and Coffee. On the world market, along with sugar and nickel, tobacco is a key Cuban export. Havana cigars are still regarded as the world's best. We saw tobacco growing and saw it being made into cigars, mostly by hand, in Havana. The labels are traditional, giving no evidence that these cigars and cigarettes come from a revolutionary society. We had an encouraging talk with the staff of a tobacco experimental station near Pinar del Río, in which the director readily admitted that medical evidence of the relationship between smoking and cancer means that Cuba will have to phase itself out of dependency on tobacco exports, in the interests of social welfare. He was confident that Cuba could manage this more readily than would capitalist societies. We also discussed Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* with these men and were assured of the increasing attention given to the problem of ecological balance in Cuba. DDT is no longer in use, for example. A major effort at planting of coffee is under way across the island. We were told that some 111 million new trees were planted in 1967-68. This should mean a great increase in coffee production, provided the plants bear fruit.*

Irrigation. Irrigation is of primary importance to Cuban agricultural production, for drought is about the only natural hazard, apart from hurricanes. In Oriente Province we visited the Carlos Manuel de Céspedes Dam, behind which is a very large reservoir with a capacity of 210 million cubic meters. This earth and concrete structure was built between 1964 and 1968 by some 1500 workers and utilizes waters from three rivers. It is the largest reservoir in Cuba. Its major purposes are irrigation and flood control. For the moment its hydro-electric potential is not utilized. Across Cuba there are a variety of new dams and reservoirs being built, some of

* According to a U.S. State Department official we interviewed after our return, the State Department estimated that 70 per cent of these plants will not produce berries at maturity because they were planted in the wrong types of soils.

them especially keyed into the expanded dairy effort. Whereas reservoir capacity was less than 30 million cubic meters in 1959, nearly 400 million cubic meters had been added by 1968 and the total capacity was expected to approach 950 million in 1969, guaranteeing the control of water resources needed for increased agricultural output.⁷

Industry

Industry is secondary to agriculture in the present economy of Cuba. Our 26 days of travel brought us into much less contact with industry. For example, we did not visit the nickel mines and Moa Foundry, where Cuban technicians are running a very specialized operation successfully, nor did we visit any small manufacturing enterprises, apart from a craft collective in Havana itself. We did visit a fertilizer factory and a cement factory, each playing an important role in Cuban development.

Fertilizer. Although Cuban soil is naturally fertile, nitrates are needed, and Cuba is seeking self-sufficiency in fertilizer. We visited the large plant being built near Cienfuegos, the materials for which have been purchased from England at a cost of \$45 million in hard currency. The building was begun in March 1968 and completion was expected by December 1970. The project has special significance in Cuba because all the construction was being done by an experimentally structured Communist Work Brigade. Judging from conversations we had with several of the administrative staff, the work force here was enthusiastic about the task and construction was on schedule. Of the 1637 workers, 113 were women, 545 are Communist Party members and 640 Young Communists Union members. Almost 20 per cent of the workers had had less than a sixth-grade education, 20 per cent are now in the sixth grade and 25 per cent had had only a secondary school education. Today all workers receive education on the job. University courses will be available by 1970. Clothing, food, medical and dental care, laundry service are all provided to all workers at no cost. Here as everywhere else in Cuba nurseries (*círculos infantiles*) make it possible for mothers to work.

This plant is expected to produce 800 metric tons of ammonium nitrate and 600 metric tons of urea daily. Together with similar plants in Los Angeles and Nuevitas, it will fill 50 per cent of the nation's need for nitrogen fertilizer. There are other facilities to provide phosphates, etc.

Cement. In order to build the new housing that Cuba requires, a vast increase in cement production was planned by the Revolutionary Government. We visited one such plant in the new industrial city on the

outskirts of Nuevitas, on the northern coast in Camagüey Province. This modern plant utilizes East German equipment and processes silicon sands and clay from the hills nearby and chalk from Santiago, raw materials said to be sufficient for 150 years. The plant began operation in 1967, although it is not yet completed; only one of three lines is now functioning. Its capacity will be 600,000 tons annually when completed, and the total Cuban output is expected to then be 2 million tons. This may be compared with a total Cuban cement production of 835,000 tons in 1967.⁸ Here as elsewhere, factories to produce prefabricated homes are also under construction, patterned after the large plant in Santiago de Cuba given by the Russians after Hurricane Flora.

Electricity. While in the new city of Nuevitas we also visited a large 60,000-kilowatt thermo-electric plant under construction. We walked through the plant, talking with engineers and workers, most of whom were under 30 years of age, and we shared their enthusiasm for this undertaking. This plant, the Tenth of October plant, commemorating the beginning of the first war for Cuban independence on that date in 1868, uses fuel oil to feed large steam generators imported from Czechoslovakia. Only one of two units was working. When completed, there will be three units with six generators. Electricity from Nuevitas is transmitted through new high-tension lines to Central and Western Cuba. There is also an Eastern system. The increase in available electricity has meant that it can be extended to rural areas for the first time, thus making life easier for the *campesino*, the peasant.

Transport. In the rural areas of Cuba which we visited, we travelled on new highways and secondary roads, some of them not yet surfaced. Many villages, especially in the mountains, could not be reached by road before the Revolution. Several major east-west highways are being developed, and an increasing amount of truck transport is utilized. We had no direct experience with the rail system on our trip, but did utilize the domestic airlines, which appear to be run efficiently, using Soviet-made aircraft for the most part. Busses link the outlying towns and villages, as very few cars have been imported since 1959. For purposes of foreign trade, harbors and ports have been improved also.

One new port facility is the sugar terminal we visited in Cienfuegos in Central Cuba. Connected to nearby mills by rail, this fully mechanized terminal includes a mammoth storehouse with a capacity of 96,000 metric tons (It appeared to equal the Houston Astrodome in size!) linked to a loading facility at the water's edge which can handle 1,200 tons per hour. An entire freighter can be filled in one day, compared with the 15 days it



A plantation of Spanish-bred pineapples near the town of Florida.

took previously when 225-pound bags were loaded by hand. There are three such terminals in Cuba. The day we were there, a Russian and a British ship were docked, the Russian ship having just unloaded its cargo of bright red "Universal" brand tractors, which covered part of the dock. The large overhead crane was Japanese built: "Nippon Crane — Tokyo 1966." The terminal is built entirely on land recovered from the sea. Already landscaping efforts are visible, here as in other new industrial areas. Just down the bay is a new 33,000-kilowatt thermo-electric plant, with Czech equipment, fully operative.

III. Social Conditions

THE IMPROVEMENT of the bad social conditions in which the rank and file of Cubans lived before the Revolution is the most exciting aspect of Cuba today. Every such problem that plagues other Latin American countries, spelled out by Governor Rockefeller in his report to President Nixon,⁹ is being dealt with head-on by the Castro government. Housing, health and education are major examples. In conversations we had in Washington with U.S. State Department officials upon our return, one of them spoke of U.S. objection to the "export of revolution" by Cuba. One of us responded that far more subversive to the status quo in Latin America than a small number of guerrillas who might be armed and landed from Cuba on the shoreline of the mainland is the living example of a neighboring society solving basic social problems that are unsolved and increasing in intensity elsewhere in Latin America!

Housing

In Santiago de Cuba, Cuba's second largest city, near what had been one of the worst slums of Latin America, we visited unannounced the José Martí District, a new development which will eventually house 50,000 people in 10,000 units. Attractive four-story blocks of prefabricated concrete, varying in size and decoration, are going up. At the time of our



Single-family dwellings in Ciudad Pesquera.

visit, 6,000 people were in residence, in 1,200 apartments. We visited one of the smaller apartments, consisting of living room, bedroom, kitchen and bath. A young couple without children lived here. The rooms were light and airy, well designed and furnished. Gas is used for fuel. Monthly rental here, as elsewhere in Cuba, is 10 per cent of the family income or 50 per cent of the rent paid before the Revolution, whichever is less. Many Cubans no longer pay any rent at all. The government has promised to abolish all rent by the end of 1970.

We spent an hour or so on the lawn in front of one block, conversing first with the children who gathered round us and then with their parents. We learned that what our guide had told us was indeed true: that the first families moved into this new housing had lived in the worst of the slums before. A boy and his father told us of their hut near the shore, where the water washed across the floor during storms and the rain came through the roof. The father said that his children were always sick before he had come here, a year and a half earlier. He was employed in a state farm nearby and earned almost four pesos daily; his breakfast, lunch and clothing were provided at work, and he spoke with feeling about how much better things were now than before the Revolution. He said that he spent his recent 15-day vacation (Cuban workers get a total of one month's vacation each year) doing voluntary work in the sugar cane and banana fields. We asked his view of the United States, and he replied that "most of the world's problems could be solved if the U.S. would get off people's backs."

A mother told us, "Before, we didn't have anything. Now Fidel has given us a place to live." Her apartment has two bedrooms, dining room, living room, kitchen and bath. She has five children. She had been shopping in the market nearby, one of the facilities that have been built to accommodate this new community.

New housing is under construction from one end of the country to the other, although there is still a housing shortage in the island as a whole, particularly in Havana. Some 60 per cent of the people of Cuba live in the rural areas. Many *campesinos* still reside in thatched huts, called *bohíos*. Before the Revolution the floors were dirt; now most are concrete, reducing the health problems caused by parasites. Electricity is also gradually coming to the peasant. By the mid-1970's, it is hoped, there will be no more *bohíos* in Cuba. Often on the highways we passed lines of tractors pulling wagons loaded high with prefabricated sections of asbestos and cement to be used as roofing for new housing in the countryside.

Ciudad Pesquera (Fishing City), described earlier, is an example of developments being built near work centers and people's farms. Although the rate of construction of new housing units has fallen far behind early estimates, it is evident that the Revolutionary Government intends to

provide every Cuban with adequate housing. The policy of allocating new homes to families on the basis of need is an important indication of official good faith.

Health

Government statistics suggest the dramatic change which the Cuban Revolution has brought in health care for the population as a whole. In 1958 there were 3,264 hospital beds in the cities and towns. By 1967 the number had grown to 12,359 and it has continued to increase. Even more significant is the change in rural Cuba. In 1958, there was one rural hospital with 10 beds. Today there are 47 rural hospitals with 1,300 beds, plus 50 medical and dental clinics, non-existent before. Before the Revolution the annual health budget for the nation was 20 million pesos. By 1967 this had increased to 158 million, almost eight times as much in eight years.

On our return to the United States, the first newscast several of us heard, in a Philadelphia taxicab, reported that hospital costs in the United States will reach \$100 per day in the near future. Today in Cuba medical care is provided to every citizen at no cost, and the most sophisticated operations are possible.

Although we did not require medical attention in Cuba, we did see the new hospital buildings in the cities and the new polyclinics in the country towns as we traveled. We were reminded that about half of Cuba's 6,000 doctors at the time of the Revolution left during its early years, but that an accelerated program of medical education has now brought the total to more than 7,000. Half of the medical students are young women. Medical students go directly into medical school from pre-university, roughly equivalent to the North American junior college. After graduation, each new doctor must spend two years working in rural areas before taking up residency.

A Protestant clergyman with whom we had several visits, a man who was often critical of the Revolution, told us, "The literacy campaign was very well done and hospitals are perhaps the greatest improvement. Everyone can obtain treatment. Doctors in hospitals used to grow rich; now they would be put in jail if they did that."

From all we learned, the Cuban government is not worrying about a "population explosion." Contraceptives are available in the clinics, but there is no promotion of family planning. The expanding Cuban economy requires more hands.

We did visit the large psychiatric hospital, Hospital Psiquiátrico de la Habana, near the José Martí airport on the outskirts of Havana, housing

some 3,900 patients at present. We talked with Dr. Sydney Orrett, the Assistant Director, who showed us with pride the new residence quarters for women, light and airy and attractively decorated, with attention to the needs of each patient as an individual. One building in the center of the hospital has been left as it was before the Revolution, with bars on the windows, etc. Now psychopharmacological treatment and occupational therapy are stressed. This is the only hospital for chronic psychotic patients in Cuba, but new facilities are being built in Camaguey and Santiago de Cuba. Mental hygiene centers are being established in every major city.

Dr. Orrett said there are 400 to 600 discharges a month from this hospital but 65 per cent of them will return in less than six months because the family or community has been unable to accept the individual. Public education about mental illness is being increased. He said that before the Revolution 15 to 20 of the 6,000 patients died *per day*. Bacillary dysentery and malnutrition were the main causes of death. Today the mortality rate is about 15 to 20 *per month*, from the same causes as in the wider community, heart and other degenerative diseases.

Education

By 1966, Cuba's per capita expenditure for education was about six times the Latin American average, and nearly twice that of Uruguay, where the per capita education expenditure is the highest in Latin America outside Cuba. As in the case of medical facilities, pre-revolutionary Cuba provided almost no schools in the rural areas, although the children of bourgeoisie in the cities were relatively well cared for. Many of the large houses in Havana vacated by rich exile families are now used as schools for the children of workers. We visited a very large primary school, Ciudad Libertad, housing 7,000 students, on the site where Batista's principal military fortress formerly stood. All across the island the attention given to and resources being spent on education attracted our attention and appreciation. We visited schools in several communities as well as one of the network of *círculos infantiles* (nursery schools) which cover the island. In this, as in most aspects of Cuban life today, the young are running the country. Many teachers are only a few years ahead of their students, because the need for teachers has outstripped supply and training has been accelerated.

A country-wide campaign to eliminate illiteracy was carried out in 1961, using a quarter of a million literacy workers, all volunteers. Before the campaign, the rate of illiteracy was 23.6 per cent. On December 22, 1961, when the campaign ended, the number had been reduced to 3.9 per

cent, mostly functional. We were given a UNESCO publication which reported in detail on the success of this campaign. A Quaker colleague in Mexico City told us later that in that relatively advanced Latin American country 46 per cent of school age children are not in school because the population increase has outdistanced facilities. In Cuba today, every school-age child is said to be in school, and can go through the university at no cost to himself or his parents. Clothing and textbooks and some meals are also provided, as well as a stipend if needed.

On the mountaintop of Topes de Collantes, 18 kilometers from Trinidad, in Central Cuba, we made one of our most exciting discoveries. Here is a town dedicated to education, with five different programs of education and 10,000 boarding students, teachers, and other staff. There are two levels of teacher training, with 2,000 students in all, concentrating on preparation for teaching in elementary school elsewhere in Cuba, as well as classes in secondary education. Seventy per cent of the students come from this mountainous region, 52 per cent girls and 48 per cent boys. All costs are borne by the state. Students are enrolled here throughout the year, with five days' vacation every two months and a month of vacation after 11 months of schooling. An allowance for transportation to and from their homes is also provided the students. There are similar institutions in all the provinces, but no other which ranges from fifth-grade classes to teacher training.

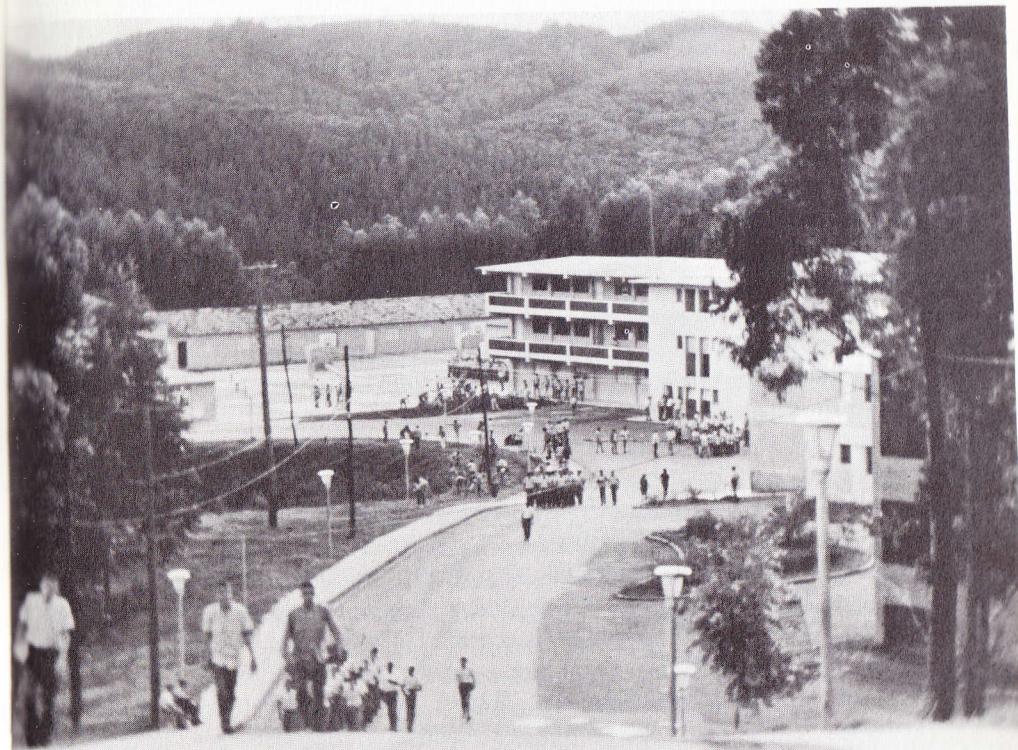
There are about 350 faculty members in the Manuel Ascunce Domenech Teacher Training School, an institution which uses as a girls' dormitory the site and seven-story building of what was a tuberculosis sanitarium in the Batista days. Many new buildings and other facilities have been built in what must be one of the most attractive settings anywhere on the island, surrounded by other mountains and forests of pine, many newly replanted.

The boys and girls were dressed in simple, attractive academic uniforms and looked energetic and healthy, evidence of the priority which this Revolution has given to its youth. The curriculum is balanced between science and letters, with specialization possible at the pre-university level. Later conversations with a staff member of the University of Havana indicated that since the Revolution agriculture, science, technology and medical education have had priority at the university level. There is no military training incorporated in the school. Thirty-two per cent of the teachers are Communist Party members, and exemplary students are encouraged to join the Young Communists Union.

Throughout the schools and colleges of Cuba, as elsewhere, Che Guevara is held up as the ideal New Man. Political education begins early, as we discovered by examining texts used in the second grade,

commending the "heroic guerrilla." One worker with whom two of us talked on the Varadero beach summed up this aspect of Cuban education by saying, "Yes, we're brainwashing the kids...and rinsing them too!" — referring to the efforts being made to instill the ideals of working for the common good and not personal gain. It is this aspect of the testimony of Che and Fidel, often ignored in the U.S., that led a Catholic official with whom we visited to assert, "Fidel is a Marxist who talks like a Christian."

One afternoon in Pinar del Rio we visited the provincial school of arts, where students were studying music, painting, sculpture and ballet. The student may enter from 8 years of age on, and once enrolled, everything needed for his education is provided. There are similar institutes in each province. No such opportunities existed before the Revolution except for children of the rich. We visited informally with some of the instructors and were impressed by their vitality and enthusiasm for their work. There are



Dormitories and sports areas, Topes de Collantes, high in the Escambray mountains.

adult classes in the evening as well. An accomplished artist may continue his work after graduate study, with his salary provided by the state.

Commensurate with this emphasis on the arts are the schools of physical education in each province. We visited one in Havana and one in Camagüey, where we talked with students who were appreciative of the opportunity to perfect their athletic abilities while pursuing other studies. One young man, whose specialty is weight-lifting was going on to study medicine. Those who are entrusted with making policy for Cuban education are obviously concerned to balance attention to Cuba's immediate needs for technical skills with provision for young men and women gifted in athletic ability and artistic talent, across the entire field of arts and letters. We did not visit classes in philosophy, history or political science, but conversations with Cubans about this aspect of Cuban education indicated that Marxism-Leninism is the established course of study.

There are three universities in Cuba: Havana, Las Villas and Santiago. Each has grown considerably since the Revolution. With 28,000 students in 1969 — compared to 13,000 in 1958 — the University of Havana has expanded into new facilities in different parts of the city. Ciudad Universitaria (University City) José Antonio Echeverría, a new campus for the study of engineering and architecture, presently houses 4,500 students and has plans to increase its capacity to handle up to 18,000 students in the future.

Illustrative of both the accomplishments and problems of education under the revolutionary government are these statistics: In the 20 years before the Revolution, 1551 engineering students graduated. In the 10 years after the Revolution, 2,484 have graduated, 1,700 of them in the past four years. The teacher-student ratio is 1 to 15, and 71 per cent of the teachers have had less than three years' experience. Nearly 98 per cent have only a bachelor's degree. One of the staff said, "By 1973 we will have three to four thousand new students knocking on the door of this faculty, and we will be short of professors." He went on to describe plans for the use of closed-circuit television and teaching machines which are being devised to meet this problem. Cuba has used technical experts from abroad in education as well as in other sectors of development, but there were only seven UNESCO experts on this campus at the time of our visit.

We must not forget the many classes in adult education which go forward in the work centers and on the people's farms, as well as the great increase in publication of works for reading by the general population, almost non-existent before the Revolution. Educational television also plays an important role, and is able to reach almost every citizen because of the network of receivers in meeting rooms across the country.

IV. Egalitarianism BIG BROTHER IS CUTTING CANE

REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY stresses the oneness of the people and their leaders. Although he carries the titles of Prime Minister, First Secretary of the Cuban Communist Party, Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, Minister-President of the Agrarian Reform Institute (INRA) and Director of the Central Planning Board (JUCEPLAN), Fidel Castro is always referred to by his first name. When we asked our guide what would happen to the positive programs of the Revolution if Fidel were to die, we were rebuked for implying that the Revolution's purity and dynamism could be dependent on one man. Fidel is the *Máximo Líder*, the Maximum Leader who holds that position only because he proved himself to be the most outstanding revolutionary of the struggle. If he were to disappear, we were told, another outstanding leader would emerge to replace him. The same notion of selection by fitness applies to officials and administrators further down the ranks of responsibility. At many a work center we heard the phrase, "We are all workers." Since managers and laborers are all workers, unions do not function as intra-industry combat devices, we were told, for there are no class-related conflicts of interest to be resolved through threats of labor action or managerial sanctions.

Our experiences in work centers and with Party officials at provincial,

regional and municipal levels of government tend to confirm the latter contention. We sensed a genuine atmosphere of camaraderie between laborers and administrators, with none of the exaggerated deference one would usually find when touring an American factory with the company president. People were not inhibited about interrupting their work to chat with us or explain what they were doing, even though this often annoyed our protocol-conscious guide. Party officials and industrial administrators wore the same casual work clothes as everyone else, and smudges of fresh dirt or grease frequently gave evidence that they had indeed been involved in physical work.

There are historical as well as ideological reasons why the Cubans can say rather accurately that they are "all workers." As the Revolution became increasingly radical in its approaches to social and economic organization, professional people and men of affairs who would have been demoted in the leveling process left the country, in a trickle at first and then *en masse*. Their replacements were industrial and agricultural laborers who were considered reliable and whose work had perhaps suggested that they might have some potential administrative talent. Many of the new managers came from the ranks of the Rebel Army, where the leaders of the new government felt they could find men of proven dependability. U.S. economist Edward Boorstein, who spent three and a half years helping to organize Cuba's economy in the early years, has written that "the Rebel Army provided personnel, ideas and support for the other agencies of the Revolutionary Government. The National Agrarian Reform Institute (INRA) — the most important civilian agency of the Revolutionary Government — sprang from the Rebel Army and in its turn gave birth to other agencies."¹¹

Boorstein mentions, among other colorful new administrators, a former guerrilla fighter put in charge of a thousand new People's Stores (about half the total) who came to the National Bank without papers to apply for a loan of 16 million pesos.¹² When we asked some of our hosts at work centers about their own backgrounds, we received answers indicating that new managers are still being drawn from among rank-and-file laborers. The administrator of a new tobacco experimentation center in Pinar del Río, a gentle man of pockmarked face and simple words, had been an *obrero de palillo*, a carrier of tobacco stems and drying boards. At the Rosafré Signet Artificial Insemination Center, our host had been a peasant working in the fields until his appointment as administrator of the center two years ago.

Such changes in personnel at top levels of management initially caused many difficulties. In some cases, we were told, knowledge about the workings of an industrial installation had been so closely guarded by its foreign owners and the domestic bourgeoisie who helped them operate it

that it was necessary to have many workers explain their work carefully — "I pulled this lever, spun that wheel, and held another lever down until the needle reached 60" — before production could be resumed after the managerial staff departed. As we have indicated in earlier sections, things are now running more smoothly. But the laborers-turned-administrators who might have become a new privileged class continue to relate to their staff people as equals. They work with the others in the agricultural plots for which their work center has responsibility, and many do a full day's manual labor each week in addition to their administrative duties.

Similar comments could be made about officials of the Cuban Communist Party. This Revolution is unusual in that the new holders of power do not tend to enrich themselves at the expense of the people as a whole. Revolutionary convictions are certainly vital for anyone who wants a good job or special opportunities, but Party members and affiliates of other revolutionary organizations do not seem to form a new self-seeking elite. When we asked a minister in Camagüey if Party members receive new houses before other people, the answer was the same that we heard all over the island: "Oh, no! More often they live in the worst houses. Well, not the really horrible houses, perhaps; but they are supposed to set an example for the rest of the people by enduring hardships until things are better for all of us." Ángel Salabarilla, an elderly gentleman with whom we sang songs he remembered from his days in the Merchant Marine, is a municipal party representative in Nuevitas. As we drove back from our visit to the thermoelectric plant just outside the city, he waved happily to a drably dressed little girl on the porch of a decrepit old house and said with a smile, "That's my granddaughter!" On another day Luis Rodríguez of the Party office in Floridá, Camagüey Province, took us clattering out to the rice fields in his office's 1956 Plymouth Belvedere. As he gave the steering wheel half-turns to keep the vehicle moving in a straight line, he told us that the steering was practically gone, but "I am an artist at the wheel." The unaffected attitude officials take toward their constituents is like that of an unpaid small-town American mayor toward his friends. It is reflected in the attitudes of the people at large, who do not seem to regard officials or symbols of power with awe. When we took our huge black Cadillac through the narrow streets of Santiago's remaining slum area one afternoon, a youngster wheeling his bicycle past the car noticed Jamie Newton's bright red beard and called out, "Hey, you! Get a shave!"

The "folksy" official is doubtless not so common at high levels of government. Our contacts with officials of *Granma* (official organ of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party), the Ministry of Foreign Relations, ICAP, and other agencies showed them to be knowledgeable and diplomatic. However, a Canadian child psychiatrist

who has been in Cuba for over four years with her anthropologist husband told us of her chance meeting with an easy-going Fidel in 1962. She happened to meet Fidel's chauffeur in a busy restaurant after a concert one evening, and somehow the conversation turned to a batch of bagel dough she had at home. Since the chauffeur had never sampled a bagel, she invited him home for a tasting session. Soon she was in a private room eating ice cream with Fidel and trying to describe the flavor and texture of a bagel. Result: Fidel went home with our friends to see for himself what this strange bread might be like. At his request she served spaghetti as well (prepared in 30 minutes because he challenged her to whip up a spaghetti meal in 20 minutes). The relaxed, spontaneous visit lasted from midnight to 5 a.m. Perhaps Fidel does not drop in on foreign visitors so casually now, but he continues to make frequent unannounced visits to talk personally with Cubans all over the island.

Since our return to the United States, we have been repeatedly asked about the morale of the Cuban people. Do we believe an invasion force would find popular support for an effort to overthrow the present government? Clearly, there is a great deal of dissatisfaction in Cuba, our questioners continue, since people are willing to wait for years in order to leave and come to the United States. As we have indicated, morale is certainly important. Several people told us that morale in Havana had been dropping until the ten-million-ton sugar harvest began to generate enthusiasm for a group effort involving national pride. Nevertheless, we feel that the Revolution has strong support from the majority of the people. Those who once worked three months of the year on foreign-owned sugar plantations in order to provide a meager living for their families now earn steady salaries for steady work and have access to free medical care, guaranteed clothing and shoes, and education for their children. Moreover, they can see direct involvement of government officials in the tasks of national development.

A Protestant minister in Santiago de Cuba told us how he and seven other ministers worked voluntarily in the cane harvest for a week in 1967; a group of 15 ministers worked at a sugar mill in Holguín the following year. This year, he and his fellow pastors hope the church will allow them to spend up to two months in the cane, for they believe that "work is primary" in Cuba. Evangelizing for the church, he told us, requires first making contact with the people by working with them and thus gaining their friendship and confidence. Leaders of the Cuban Revolution seem to apply that same proposition to their efforts to shape a new social consciousness among the people.

Perhaps the Revolution's most important source of strength is the visible evidence of its determination to achieve social and economic justice

for the people. Cuba faces years of hard work before the government will be justified in speaking of prosperity, but there are certain statistics that already show success. Cuba had 110 rural secondary schools in 1968 where there were only 7 a decade before; in 1968 there were 37 schools of agriculture, 47 rural hospitals and 56 rural dispensaries, where in 1958 the island had none of any of these.¹³ (Some sources remembered one rural hospital.)

Deeper than statistics are the personal stories we heard from people whose lives had been changed by the Revolution. Lázaro Herrera, our chauffeur, had lived with his six brothers and their parents in a one-room apartment. His father's income from two jobs just covered the rent and utilities, so the boys all had to work from an early age. Lazaro himself had worked stints of five and half months in clothing stores. (A labor law forced employers to give their workers a pay hike after six months on the job, so "vacations" came predictably in the middle of the sixth month.) After the triumph of the Revolution Lazaro's father was given a house adequate to the needs of his family. Now he is the administrator of the butcher shop where he formerly worked. Lazaro and his wife have their own apartment.

Homer Rodríguez guided us around a small museum in Mayarí Arriba, where Raúl Castro started the second front. Before the war he was a small farmer near Guantánamo. "Every time the crops were bad," he told us, "the *latifundista* (large landowner) would come to me and try to buy my land. But I would never sell, because I knew if I sold I would always be a sort of slave to him. So we suffered, but we were independent." Now he manages the little museum and grows personal food items on its grounds. Marisén, his small daughter, is in the third grade, and his sons are in high school, military school, and medical school respectively.

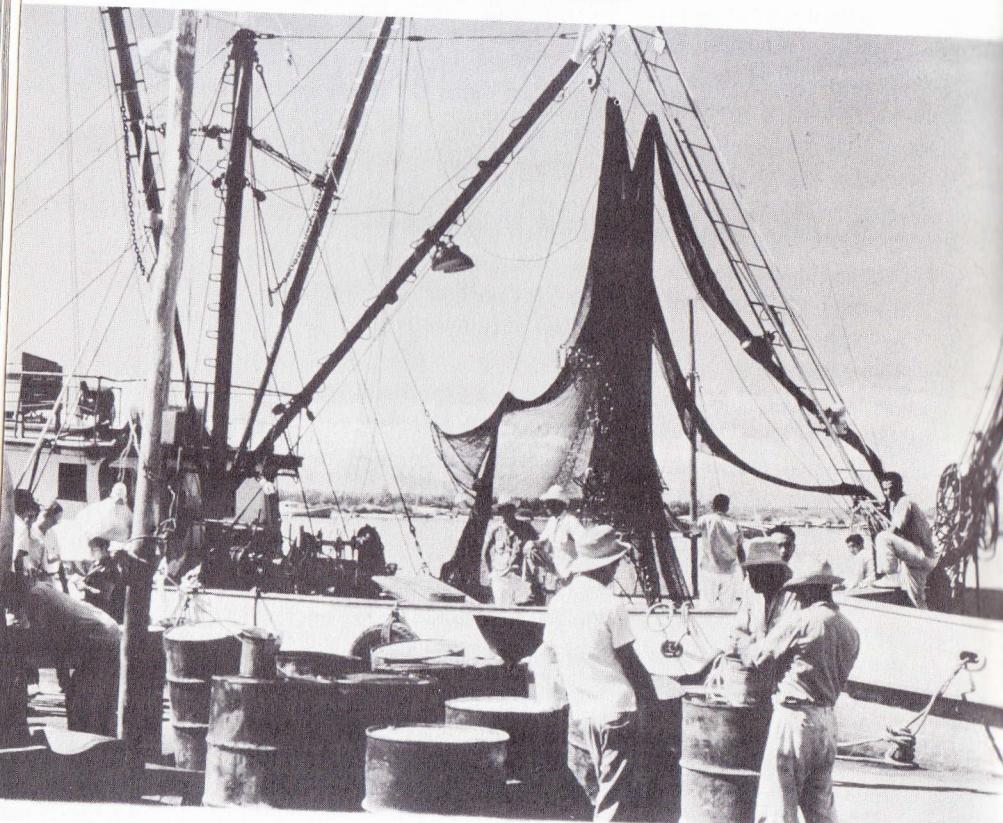
These stories were told to us with some shyness but with pride as well, and they are important. The Revolution finds its staunchest supporters in the simple people whose lives have been improved by the "dictatorship of the majority."

Racial discrimination no longer exists in Cuba, aside from the prejudices still held by some individuals. While African culture is appreciated, black cultural emphasis that may become separatist is not. A black electronics engineer, who left the United States to become a Cuban citizen in 1960 and now teaches at the national fishing school, considers the Black Panthers "hot-headed kids" who do not understand that the forces of oppression are so great that a racially divided struggle against them cannot be strong enough to overcome. He dates a white woman, and notices signs of animosity over this in middle-aged and older people. But he remembers his childhood in Mississippi with his devoted white foster

father and his black mother, comparing the misery of those days with his present situation. In the future, he believes, there will be no trace of prejudice in Cuba because of the total integration now being experienced by the young.

It seems to us that sincere dedication to the achievement of a just society is very much to the advantage of the Cuban government, practically speaking. As James O'Connor has noted, the Revolutionary Government "chose to polarize opinion around the fundamental issue of its own support."¹⁴ Given that fact, a perceived betrayal of the Revolution would certainly drive one-time supporters to the opposition pole. In reality, we believe, the majority of Cubans find the government moving more or less effectively in their interest. They identify with and esteem Fidel, and the local officials they see frequently are easy to relate to. Perhaps the Government's thorough-going changes alienate some people who would prefer to experiment with less radically socialist measures. But the Revolution is moving on the assumption that these people will drop away and leave those who are dedicated and attitudinally suited to move on to the new society.

Fishing fields near the port city of Manzanillo.



V. Youth

A SPRINGTIME WITHOUT PLUMAGE

"THEY GROW UP TOO FAST," commented a Roman Catholic leader. "Life is so intense for the young people ... Youngsters are confronted by vital questions they shouldn't have to deal with until they are adults." Certainly it is true that young people are exposed to intense strains along with their elders. Some, on the one hand, must leave home and friends to accompany their families into exile in a land whose language and customs are strange for them — a move for which preparations and waiting often cover a span of several years. Others are intimately linked into the Revolution's programs for rapid social change, particularly where technical matters or new organizational patterns are involved. Our 28-year-old ICAP guide, a somewhat younger plant official who guided us through the thermoelectric facility at Nuevitas and held a lengthy discussion on political organization with us afterwards, the political officer of the Centenary Column — these are examples of the bright young people one finds working everywhere and taking their responsibilities very seriously indeed.

Political education is a part of the Cuban child's life almost from the beginning. At the age of 45 days his parents may take him to a *círculo infantil* like the one we visited in Mayarí. Here he is given clothes and bathed regularly. When his teeth come in they will be brushed regularly. From early morning until late afternoon he plays in a playpen large

enough to accommodate about ten small children, eats at two-child baby tenders (six- or eight-child tables, if he is old enough), and in other ways learns to think of himself as one among many users of common property. His playmates and the staff, of course, display all varieties of skin color and other racial characteristics. While he is at the *círculo*, his mother is freed from the requirements of his care so that she can work if she chooses to do so, for the Revolution is eager to overcome the traditional second-class status of women by incorporating them into the work force. At the *círculo* in Mayarí, she may keep track of his development by examining the chart on the bulletin board at the nursery's entrance, and she is urged to put her criticisms or suggestions in the box mounted on the same board.

At about 6 years of age, the child begins to spend his entire day at a primary school. Pupils we talked with at the Juan Manuel Márquez Primary School, a teacher-training school, located some 25 kilometers from Havana, catch a bus from their homes at 6:30 a.m. and return about 8 p.m. During the school day they eat two snacks and a large meal. This "semi-boarding" arrangement is common when the school can be located near enough to the students' homes; otherwise, students attend a full-time boarding school, such as the Topes de Collantes school city in the Escambray Mountains (described earlier).

In primary school, political education begins in earnest. The "Sole Work Plan of Semi-Boarding Primary School Juan Manuel Márquez" specifies that 100 per cent of the school's pupils are to be incorporated into the Pioneers and interest groups for the Revolutionary Armed Forces. During the annual week of homage to the Revolutionary Armed Forces, students are to visit a military base with cards and souvenirs for the soldiers. All teachers are to be incorporated as Pioneer Guides.

Study materials and group exercises carry political messages. When we entered a classroom, the student monitor of the class would rise and say to us, "Comrades, visitors, may I have your permission to introduce the class?" We would reply affirmatively, and the child would signal the class to rise and chant their particular revolutionary slogan, after which they sat down. All this was done with an attempt at heel-clicking and snappy movements. The slogans do not seem to be merely phrases learned by rote. When we asked a sixth-grader to explain his class slogan ("Che took the first steps, we will take the last"), he replied, "Che took the first steps to liberate Cuba. We, revolutionaries that we are, will take steps to liberate Latin America. We study each day to create the New Man, like Che said."

In the textbooks we examined during an unannounced and unguided visit to a Havana primary school, passages with political content were interspersed with poems and passages innocent of political implications.

An example of the former from a first-grade text is simple: A little boy is shown at camp above the caption, "I will be a Pioneer." His father appears in the beret and pistol of the FAR.* In more advanced books one finds items like this poem:

Little Vietnamese Brother

Little brother of the oblique eyes and straight hair,
Ay, how your black sky and red rivers pain me!
Oh, my anger is so great that I despair and
I shout against that accursed Yankee,
Executioner of butterflies,
And I cry out from my roses:
Grow, grow, my little brother!
I too am a little child ...
I want to grow and grow so much,
to run, to fly to you
and fight by your flag!

— Indio Naborí

As we have noted earlier, high school and college students are expected to spend time in agricultural or industrial labor as a regular part of their educational programs. Youngsters, aged 15 to 27, may become members of the Young Communists Union (UJC) if they are proposed by their peers and approved by the UJC in a process similar to that used by the PCC**, for which UJC members are likely candidates.

To understand the effects of all this, one must realize that the term "political education" is very broadly defined as the Cubans use it. Beyond glorification of the warrior virtues as applied in the struggle against imperialism, and interpretation of history from the viewpoint of people who have suffered under colonial domination, classroom education and materials produced by the PCC's Commission on Revolutionary Orientation stress Marxist-Leninist socialism. In the process, a great deal of moralizing is done in a way that one Protestant minister described as nonreligious teaching of Christian ethics under a Marxist label. The result seems to be a mixture of warm humanitarianism and dramatic militarism.

The October 18th graduation ceremonies for middle-level technicians at the University of Santa Clara in Las Villas, televised because Fidel spoke on that occasion, will serve as an example of this. The two speakers from the graduating class were a dynamic young black man and a girl whose

* Revolutionary Armed Forces

** Communist Party of Cuba

shining blonde hairdo and deeply tanned features would have done credit to the pages of Vogue. Both made reference to the valuable discipline they had acquired through hard physical labor and military training, their readiness to pour blood and sweat into productive work or military defense against the implacable enemy, and the scholarship grants that made their education possible. Their central themes reflected the Revolution's ideology well: The great challenges of economic development and anti-imperialist war require strict discipline and willingness to live ascetically. Both kinds of sacrificial struggle are done in the interests of the wretched of the earth.

As pacifists, professionally involved in an effort to rid the world of militarism, we were disturbed by the sight of rank upon rank of uniformed young men and women rising to their feet for prolonged ovations at the mention of Che Guevara or Camilo Cienfuegos. We are used to hearing altruistic justifications for military activity repeated *ad nauseam* in our own country, so that we were not easily relieved of misgivings raised by little children chanting slogans as they marched along to class. Granted that efficient organization of manpower for rapid development may require limitations on personal freedom; granted also that ever-present military and economic pressure from the United States and others who would like to see the Revolution's course reversed provides a ready explanation for the constant state of military alert; we would hope increased affluence and a better international scene might lead to the relaxation of Cuba's regimentation. We fear that such martial patterns may become a way of life, difficult to pluck from the fabric of the new society.

Human products of the Revolution themselves, most teen-agers seem to accept its basic premises. Those who are closely integrated into a revolutionary organization are usually quick to produce an ideological answer to any question about conditions in Cuba, but they are also prepared to discuss the Revolution's problems in an eagerly exploratory manner. One high school physical education teacher in Camagüey told us how they would like to have tight bell-bottom trousers and fine shirts. When we noted that their clothes were attractive and in good condition, they replied, "Sure, out here they are. When we go for a walk we borrow a shirt here, good shoes there, and somehow we piece together a whole set of clothing." One complained that the government requires them to work in the fields every year and then sells the fruit of their labor abroad. "Bacardi rum, whoosh! Fruit, whoosh! You know that 1968 was the Year of the Heroic Guerrilla? Well, 1970 will be called the Year of the Heroic Survivor, things are so bad here!" Was it the shortage of consumer goods they objected to? "No. It's the whole thing, the whole political system." Young men we met in Roman Catholic churches on two separate occasions

raised objections against the whole political system also, but on a more abstract, deeper level. They felt that their chances to advance themselves educationally or in the economic system were quite limited because they were devoutly religious and chose to display signs of their faith.

It is our impression that Cuban public opinion and government policy work together to restrict young persons' scope of innovation or eccentricity in life-styles. Young people who affect a hippie style of dress and behavior are looked upon as parasites who do not work. A professor of mechanics describing the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution that meets in his home mentioned a CDR complaint which resulted in hippies being rounded up, given haircuts and sent to do farm work for a while.

The Revolution takes a relaxed approach to casual extramarital relationships between men and women. Gerardo Breña of the PCC office in the town of Floridá told us that a notary is occasionally sent out to rural areas to perform marriage ceremonies for couples living together out of wedlock, but added that no pressure is brought to bear on those who do not wish the ceremony. According to our ICAP guide, however, homosexuals who let their amorous activities become noticeable may expect to be punished as anti-social influences, with rehabilitation therapy where there is hope for a "cure."

Some of the more original souls may find an outlet for their energies in individual creative activity, provided they are considered talented, for in spite of its emphasis on economically productive work, the Revolution is now providing opportunities for art training to far more Cuban young people than ever before. We found a real flowering of the spirit in Pinar del Rio, where a provincial art school holds classes in music, dance, painting and sculpture. A young architect with offices at the top of the Habana Libre hotel was working with his wife on designs for inflatable plastic school buildings which have proven their durability over 12-year testing periods in Vietnam and Africa. They can be built at 1 per cent of the cost of an ordinary structure. The first one was to go up July 25, at the completion of the *zafra*. He took us to his modest apartment, where we saw some of the oil paintings he has done on canvas sheets and strips of discarded cardboard. These were to be put on display some time in November.

For the most part, then, Cuban young people are in favor of the Revolution's programs and are seriously taking responsibility for helping them to succeed. But asceticism is less contagious than the dynamism of a little nation developing its resources in the face of massive opposition from neighbor countries. Young Cubans would like to stretch their wings and flash around town between those stints of energetic labor they seem to

accept so willingly. We noticed, too, that for all their regimented group behavior, Cuban school children were comfortable and uninhibited about whispering and playing among themselves while their teachers were showing them off to us. One gets the impression that the affection the teachers so obviously feel toward their pupils is a more effective influence than all the marching and chanting. Even among the university graduates at Las Villas, we could see lots of talking and happy inattention following the long ovations in honor of revolutionary heroes. It is a fair guess that Cuban warmth and the naturally self-expressive tendencies of an active young population may prove enduring enough so that gaiety and discipline can complement each other. Hopefully, the New Man's hard-working society will be one of laughter and bright colors.



A procession of children coming to throw flowers into the sea in memory of Camilo Cienfuegos, Havana waterfront.

VI. Sociopolitical Institutions

CUBA'S new sociopolitical institutions — we call them this because their functions are both social and political — are experiments aimed at developing the New Man and providing him with structures appropriate to his new society. Established by leaders who have radically altered previously existing government-citizen relationships, they bring the state into contact with its individual constituents at a very personal level. Rather than relying on a system of checks and balances to protect the society against the imposition of tyranny, it is assumed that Government-citizen empathy and communication will lead to policies favorable to the interests of the majority. Here we will briefly discuss two of the new institutions — and the not-so-new practice of military conscription — as they appeared to us.

Committees for the Defense of the Revolution

The CDRs celebrated their ninth anniversary on September 28, 1969. According to Osvaldo Triana of the 19-man National Directorate of the CDRs, whom we interviewed, the organization was born in a rally held on the occasion of Fidel's return from the United States. After several *petardos* (small bombs) had exploded in the crowd, Fidel declared that such attacks on the people could not be prevented without a system of vigilance providing for widespread participation by the community at large. Vigilance committees were then set up to work with the State Security Department in detecting and apprehending counterrevolutionaries.

Since that time the work of the CDRs has broadened so much that they are now a comprehensive community action organization. More than 66,000 local committees (one on every block, one in every tiny village)

count a total of over 3,222,000 Cubans, more than 60 per cent of the population over 14 years of age, among their membership. This membership figure given to us by Triana represents a vast increase, since the government claimed 2,200,000 members in January 1969.¹⁵ Of these, 1,544,000 participate in vigilance work, standing guard unarmed but prepared to report suspicious activity around anything the CDR considers valuable enough to attract a saboteur. In other areas of activity, the CDRs arrange political education meetings and public health teaching sessions led by medical experts, encourage people to make blood donations, make sure women have cytological examinations to detect uterine cancer, vaccinate children against polio (919,000-plus to date), establish subcommittees to make sure newly available housing goes to the neediest families, and take responsibility for keeping streets and other neighborhood areas tidy.

The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution are strongly oriented toward local action. Through their tremendous membership they can reach literally everyone in the country, both with social action campaigns and with watchful eyes ready to sound the alarm on possible counterrevolutionary activity. As Triana pointed out, an organization participated in by such a large fraction of the population can hardly be clandestine. (It has been called a network of spy groups in the U.S.) But its existence doubtless gives pause to people who might otherwise organize against the Revolution. It is probably one of the country's strongest guarantees against the possibility of success for any effort to pull Cuba away from socialism through the kind of "palace revolution" that has become so typical of Latin America. At the same time, it is a powerful influence toward political conformity, since everyone knows the Government could be made aware of any suspicious behavior or counterrevolutionary talk almost immediately.

People's Courts

The *Tribunal Popular* (People's Court) is a judicial institution intended to administer community justice. Its emphasis is on education rather than punishment. Our friend who teaches at the national fishing school explained that the Revolution deals with most civil and criminal offenders as people with problems of bad motivation or inadequate understanding produced by the previous society. Therefore, it would make no sense to punish them in the hope that fear of similar punishment would deter other problem-ridden people from committing similar acts. Offenders should be helped to see why their crimes are antisocial, and their neighbors should help them to mend their ways.

Late one evening we took a bus to a spot near the waterfront where we

had been told a People's Court was located. We found that particular court not active that evening, but a youngster offered to lead us to another that he felt sure was trying cases. *Tribunal Popular No. 8* held sessions in a simple storefront building equipped with two rows of plain wooden benches facing a raised bench. Behind the raised bench sat the three judges: President, Secretary, and Trustee. All three are elected by their neighbors to serve in their free time, without remuneration. All three carry equal weight in determining guilt or innocence, but the Trustee has a special responsibility to investigate each case firsthand before it is tried and reach his own opinion on the facts. When the case is brought before the three, the President asks both plaintiff and defendant if they have any reason to prefer that this particular three-member panel be disqualified. If either responds affirmatively, the case is held over and assigned to another panel. Lawyers are made available if parties to the dispute request them, but customarily both parties handle their own cases.

One of the cases we saw tried involved a woman who was accused by a policeman of disobeying his orders in a tense situation. There was almost a free exchange among the participants in this scene, including a witness and some people in the audience who spoke up when those involved in the trial referred to them as individuals who could support or oppose a point being raised. The judges eventually withdrew to a small room at the back of the building, returning some ten minutes later with a guilty verdict. The President went through an elaborate explanation of appeal rights, and when both parties waived appeal he issued the sentence: a lecture on responsible behavior toward police. This he delivered at some length right on the spot, so that all those who had come to observe the trial also benefitted from his lecturing.

These People's Courts were developed by the University of Havana's Law School and the Ministry of Justice in an effort to apply the concept of popular justice used in guerrilla columns, according to an American journalist, Lee Webb. They contrast with the courtroom situation to which we are accustomed, where often bewildered citizens face an imposing figure draped in black and suddenly feel awkward while legal jargon flows above them to determine their future. The doing of justice in the People's Courts depends more on a sensitivity to rightness and wrongness than on established principles or specific legislation. This is dangerous in that the courts are not insulated from the demands of an angry, aroused community that might make for action against a suspected villain. Also, to rely on a man's community for help in changing his behavior is to put him at the mercy of powerful forces toward sameness. A chief advantage of People's Courts is that the personal interaction of respected judges and their neighbors replaces impersonal bureaucratic neglect.

Military Conscription

In November 1963, military conscription came to Cuba, with all young men being obligated for a three-year term of duty. This measure stood in direct contrast to a promise Fidel had made nearly five years before: "We will not establish military service because it is not right to force a man to put on a uniform and a helmet, to give him a rifle and force him to march."¹⁶

Some people feel that conscription is primarily an economic measure, functioning secondarily as a means of disciplining idle young men and advancing the educational level of dropouts. This would not be surprising, given the army's involvement in many areas of civilian work. A minister in Santiago told us all military men engage in agricultural labor and learn a profession. "Its purpose is economic, for production. Many thousands of men are in the army without rifles but with machetes," he said. Whether its fundamental purpose was originally economic or military is an academic question now, since it provides large numbers of men with military training but then makes them available as an easily controlled, mobile labor force.

Ideological arguments justifying conscription in Cuba sound remarkably parallel to those we hear in the United States. When we asked our guide why a society of men eager to volunteer for community service had to be forced to take part in military defense of the community, he replied that because of the lack of conscientiousness inherited from the old order operating under imperialism, not all the people would volunteer to defend the country. Why should those who volunteer accept the entire burden? Those who would prefer to escape their share of the tasks of defense must be forced to accept them. Besides, he argued, conscription fills military needs and teaches socialist attitudes to the minority who would not volunteer. Finally, socialist armies exist only because of the threat from capitalism. "End the draft in your own country," our guide said, "and you will hasten the day when Cuba can end her draft."

The conscientious objector to all military service is a rare man in Cuba. As a young Cuban Quaker put it, "Pacifism in the United States with the war in Vietnam is completely different from the defense of a country like Cuba." According to a Party official who relates to the religious world, there is no provision for conscientious objection under the law. However, COs willing to perform noncombat duties receive medical or other appropriate assignments. Those few who refuse all military service — Jehovah's Witnesses, for the most part — are seen as a perplexing problem. Legally they could probably be jailed for three to six years, he surmised, but he knew of no such cases. In practice a JW who refuses service is either

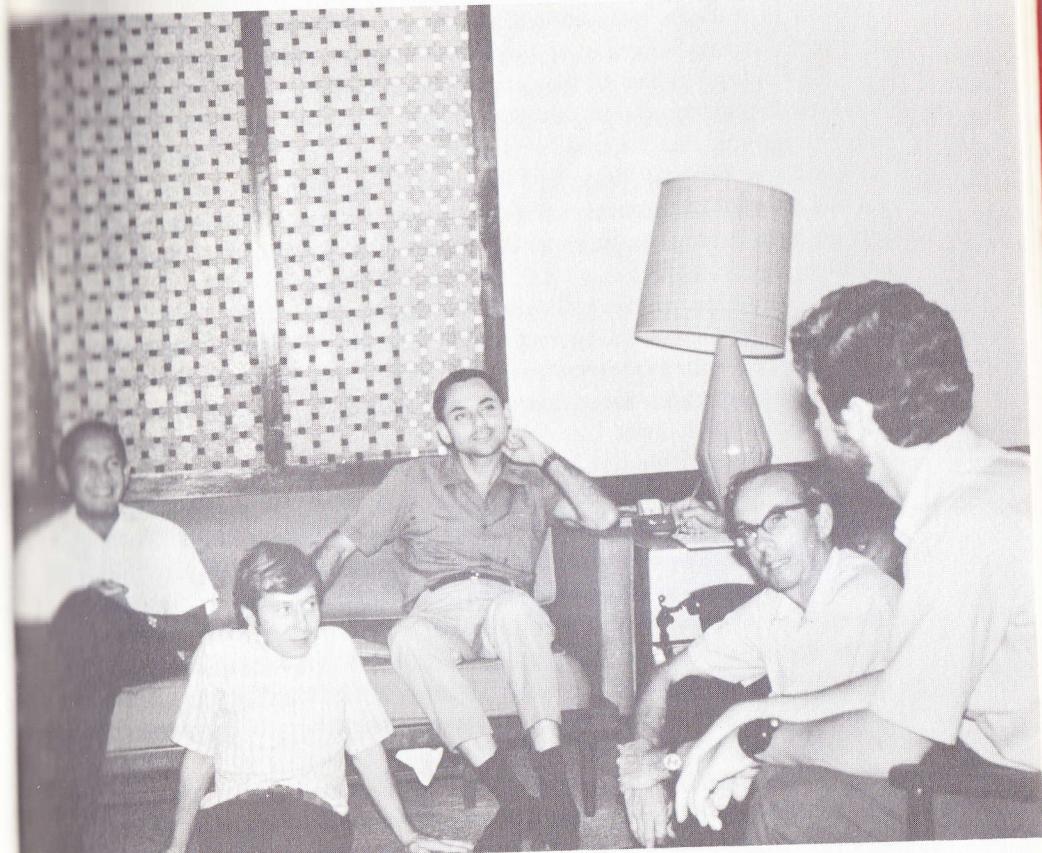
sent to do agricultural labor on a farm for about three years, thus accomplishing about what he would as a soldier, or is simply not called (not because exceptions are made, he assured us, but only because the problem is now being studied). Another Quaker told us that his cousin is a Jehovah's Witness and was sent to do agricultural work for three years when he refused military service, thus confirming the official's assertion in that regard. Apparently this work is not done on the once-infamous UMAPs (Military Units for Aid to Production). According to one liberal minister, the farms were built but then terminated after two years because of church protest. He said, "I told Party officials it was a kind of Stalinism — if these are allowed it is like Stalin. Many religious people were sent there — pastors, theology students — I don't believe they were for being conscientious objectors."

VII. The Churches in Cuba

WE VISITED with a number of pastors, church laymen, and hierarchical leaders, including Roman Catholics, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Quakers and Pentecostals. We found that some church people definitely favored the Revolution, some were unhappy with it, and many felt they could co-exist with it, despite difficulties.

Though some pointed to poor relations and distrust between church and state earlier in the revolutionary period, there was general agreement that relations are steadily improving. Party leaders also give this impression, and said the Government does not want to infringe on anyone's religious beliefs. Some expressed the view that religious belief would wither away as people saw their needs being met. The Government is concerned, however, that the churches not be used to organize against the Revolution. This was reiterated by both Party and church people.

This can, to some extent, be described as a "live and let live" policy, though there are possibly scattered exceptions. The churches operate under restrictions that they did not face before the Revolution. They cannot propagate the faith through the mass media by leafletting, by house-to-house evangelism, or in street meetings. Foreign religious publications sent to clergymen by mail often do not arrive. They have great difficulty printing their own materials, usually mimeographing a limited amount. Pastors get only the standard gasoline ration of one



The team visits a church dignitary.

tankful per month. Churches are obliged to get special permission from the Government in order to hold conferences and other meetings not regularly scheduled.

The church day schools and colleges, like all other private schools, have been nationalized, but many of the school buildings have been given back to the churches.* Some of the same teachers, including some ministers, have been retained. Some church people hold memberships in the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (described earlier) or participate in activities organized by the CDRs. There are soldiers and militiamen among the membership of churches. In some cases, pastors and laymen have been given passports to attend meetings in other countries, including the United States.

Cuba's several hundred Friends acquired their faith through a missionary effort launched by evangelical Quakers in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century. Most Cuban Friends presently live in areas of Oriente province that we were unable to reach due to transportation difficulties. Our colleague, Betty Nute, who visited among the Friends in Oriente in June 1969, reported that the majority are unhappy with the Government's restrictions on their religious activities and look backward with nostalgia to pre-Revolutionary days. Their mission work is hampered or made impossible, and they are no longer able to reach youth through the Friends schools as they did under the previous regime. Nonetheless, there is a prevalent feeling among Friends that the Government respects them. Our conversations with young Quakers in Havana indicated that many of the younger Friends are pressing their churches to participate more fully in the constructive social programs of the Revolution.

From 1963 to 1965, there were bad relations between the churches and the state, when many churchmen turned against the Government because it became avowedly Communist. Some ministers were imprisoned; one, with whom one of our team members spoke, had recently gotten out of prison.

Church membership is growing and participation is good both in worship and in Sunday Schools. There are about as many active in the Catholic Church as before, and those who have left it are emigrants rather than apostates. Methodists, who formerly numbered 8,000, have organized

* The church was not a powerful force for education in pre-revolutionary Cuba. Maurice Zeitlin and Robert Sheer, in *Cuba: Tragedy in Our Hemisphere* (New York: Grove, 1963) p. 19, discuss education in Cuba prior to 1959: "Nor did the Church provide educational facilities in the rural areas. In general, the Cuban Church was less influential and less interested in the lives of its people than was any other Latin American church. Especially in the rural areas was the church inconsequential. Few rural families figured church donations in their budgets; only occasionally did they see a priest—perhaps once a year when infants were baptized at three dollars a head. That was the extent of the ministry."

a newly autonomous church with 3,000 reaffirmed members. Church budgets are in healthier condition than ever. Some denominations report large increases in pastors' salaries. How churches have fared since the Revolution bears some relation to their connections with the United States. The churches of some denominations that relied heavily upon mission funds have had a harder time financially than some of the others, and the World Council of Churches has had a special Cuba fund to help them out.

Some middle-class churchmen feel that the Revolution is a bad thing, both because the work of the churches is now more difficult and because they now experience a relatively lower standard of living. However, a recent document signed by most of the Catholic bishops acknowledges that most of the people who thought they were opposing the regime because of religious reasons were really opposing it for other reasons, e.g. political. It calls upon loyal citizens to support the Government. A Methodist pastor said he has to embrace in his ministry people of both viewpoints.

Some find affinity between the humanism of the Castro form of Marxism and religious social ethics. A church official who says he believes in man, and that Christians and Communists can and must work together, said, "Fidel is a Marxist who talks like a Christian." A regional party official said Fidel was 33 when the Revolution triumphed "...like Jesus; now he is doing what Jesus was talking about."

If the church is purified by adversity, this is the case in Cuba. A Baptist minister's wife said, "Our people now are stronger in their faith than they've ever been." Some progressive pastors consider the hardships of the present to be a "judgment of God on the church in Cuba" and a judgment on missions, for the Cuban churches were too pietistic and were far removed from the mainstream of change. Speaking of the regime's humanism, a Catholic leader said, "The 'god' the Communists don't believe in, Christians also don't believe in," and a Baptist agreed that both "reject the same 'god.' "

We found that the churches are carrying on their work with varying degrees of adjustment to the new order. A young Catholic layman said, "We witness with a joy and a sadness" — a joy to be witnesses and a sadness because of the trying circumstances. A well-educated minister said, "I would like to receive all the theological journals in the world, but it is more important to see new hospitals and schools."

VIII.

Cuban Relations with the United States

WHEN OUR COLLEAGUE, Betty Nute, visited Cuba in June 1969, she asked many people "What steps do you feel the U.S. would need to take to ease tensions with Cuba?" She reported that "with few variations" the answers were the same:

1. The U.S. would need to take the initiative, since it was the U.S. that broke off relations in the first place.
2. End the "blockade."
3. End the war in Vietnam.
4. Cease exploiting other peoples, which implies the need for a profound change in the structures of the U.S. government.

One man suggested that the Guantánamo naval base be renegotiated. These answers suggest the feelings many Cubans expressed to us when we asked them how they felt toward the United States.

One gets the impression that the *bloqueo* (embargo) is not thought of as very important in Cuba today. Nobody mentioned it to us, but when we inquired about it we were repeatedly told that it should be ended because it is unjust rather than because it hurts. The machine parts that once came only from the United States can now be produced in Cuba, we were told, and many old American machines have been replaced with equipment from non-embargo countries. These are by no means all socialist bloc countries — Cuban trade with Western European countries (primarily

France and Spain) accounted for more than 20 per cent of her foreign trade in 1968.¹⁷ The embargo does make it hard to get consumer items, such as shampoo.

The Vietnam war is an important consideration, because Cubans identify strongly with the Vietnamese people, victims of an onslaught that could have been Cuba's fate. Frequently we saw large billboards urging victory for Vietnam over the United States. One class of primary school students broke spontaneously into a pro-Vietnam song for us. Nine hundred Vietnamese scholarship students were feted in the ballroom of the Habana Libre while we were there.

Cuban dignity requires that the U.S. take the first steps in resuming relationships. Their past relationships with the U.S. have been humiliating. The Guantánamo naval base is a continual reminder of that.

A Baptist minister told us a story about a hungry, dirty duck who saw a clean, fat duck. "How did you get this way?" he asked. "I have three meals per day, and I get all I want." "I want to be like you!" cried the dirty duck. But he saw a chain on the sleek duck's neck. "What's that?" The answer came, "It's from my master. He feeds me and gives me that." Then the hungry, tattered duck declared, "I prefer to be hungry and thin and dirty. I don't want that chain!" Breaking their chain has not been easy for the Cubans, and now that it is gone they are determined to be sure any new Cuban-U.S. ties are equitable.

As the Cubans interpret Marxism-Leninism, it tells them that the U.S. system of capitalism could not long survive without American business interests abroad. When they say the U.S. should cease exploiting other peoples, therefore, they are implying what at least one nonofficial Cuban told us: "We are willing to establish relations with the Revolutionary Government of the United States." Since they believe it is in the nature of capitalist imperialism to continue to expand and encroach ever further into the resources of developing countries, they cannot imagine a lasting peace while that same system persists.

Three days we spent in Washington gave us an opportunity to discuss U.S.-Cuban relations with interested Senators, Congressmen and officials of the State Department. We finished these conversations with the unhappy impression that officials who are interested in improving relations with Cuba lack the power to do so, while those who have the power do not wish to do so.

Somewhat to our surprise, State Department officials did not argue with our contention that the standard of living has been raised for the average Cuban. They expressed concern over Cuba's internal politics, saying, "We like to see people vote." One official told us that the fundamental objective of U.S. foreign policy is to ensure the survival of

the United States as we know it. The prospects are more favorable when the nations around us are democratic, he observed. We can live safely, he felt, in a world with both capitalist and socialist economic systems provided both are democratic.

State Department officials saw the following as major barriers in the way of improved feelings between the two governments:

1. Cuba has shown no sign of interest in resuming relations.

2. Cuba exports revolution to other Latin American countries. Fidel Castro sees himself as a Latin American Mao, hoping to sweep the continent with a liberation army.

3. Cuba does not have domestic political procedures the State Department would consider democratic.

4. Cuba has a military alliance with the Soviet Union, and we all remember the missile crisis *that* provoked.

Moreover, we were told, with about one-third of America's diplomatic time going to the Vietnam war, there just isn't time to worry about Cuba. They would not care to drop the blockade because they feel that it has indeed been effective in preventing Fidel from exporting revolution as he would like to do.

Without going into detail, let us say that the above State Department objections are inconsistent with the practical reality of U.S. activities with respect to other nations. The U.S. maintains diplomatic relations with undemocratic governments in Greece, Spain, Brazil, Guatemala and elsewhere. The U.S. relates to and trades with the USSR while making war against peasants equipped with Soviet weapons in Vietnam. In general, American foreign policy seems to be determined by considerations of expedience rather than according to noble principles — such as noninterference in the affairs of other sovereign nations or the encouragement of just democratic political practices.

We feel that the outlook for improved U.S.-Cuba relations is bleak, given the sharply conflicting expectations of the two nations. Nevertheless, we know that strong statements of government policy are often modified when circumstances change. In future relationships, the United States should both recognize and respect Cuba's independent, self-determined course. Cuba has modified her position, according to Donald Grant's report in the December, 1969, *Progressive* magazine, by extending what State Department officials described as a "Cuban bid for improved relations with the United States," via Grant's interview with Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, a high Cuban official. While our own government has apparently ignored this overture, clearly the potential for change exists.

IX. Summary & Conclusions

Achievements

(1) The Cuban Revolution appears dedicated to meeting the needs of the majority of the people. It has been successful in raising the standard of living in the countryside and has made significant strides toward lifting Cuba from underdevelopment and building a firm economic base for the future.

This does not mean that Cuba is an affluent society. The consumer goods most Americans take for granted are either unavailable or scarce, and city dwellers often stand in line for hours to reserve a table in a restaurant or enjoy an evening's entertainment. Food and clothing are rationed. It does mean that the Cuban government has made substantial progress in dealing with the fundamental social problems that face the people of a developing country. In contrast with other Latin American countries, Cuba has managed to provide the necessities of life for *all* of its population — food, housing, clothing, medical care and education — although the quality and distribution of some items needs improvement.

(2) The political influence of the Communist Party in Cuba is the dominant element in every sphere of activity. Advancement in the social or productive structures (the churches excepted) usually depends as much on political attitudes as it does on competence. We feel that Party policies are determined with sensitivity to the interests of the society as a whole. Through unique social and political institutions the Cuban Revolution hopes eventually to eliminate the gap between the constituency and the

Government. Popular assemblies, agricultural cooperatives and collectives, worker' councils, Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, People's Courts, and other grassroots organizations provide a degree of involvement by the general public both in decision-making processes and in the implementation of government policies.

(3) The government has achieved a widespread mobilization for voluntary work in agriculture, industry and community projects. This requires the people to sacrifice much of their leisure time. Some volunteer workers contribute their labor willingly, some work because of social pressures to do so and others work with a bitter resentment toward what they believe is unwarranted coercion. Our impression is that most Cubans accept hard work and austere living as necessary aspects of an all-out effort to develop national wealth for the good of all.

(4) While visiting with church leaders and laymen from different denominations, Catholic and Protestant, we were consistently told that church-state relations are improving. Since the 1962-64 period of tense confrontation, the attitude of the Revolution toward religious people has been increasingly one of tolerance rather than repression. Evangelism must be carried on without the use of mass media or door-to-door campaigns, but within the church communities religious life proceeds as usual. As churchmen described them to us, the government's efforts to meet their special needs (e.g., kosher meats and work releases for religious holidays) have been surprisingly accommodating.

Problems

(1) As persons accustomed to a dissenting role in our own society, we noted the absence of formal channels for such dissent in Cuba. There are no opposition parties or press. The Communist Party is the controlling political organization. Although the situation is more relaxed than at an earlier period, according to informants, many citizens are no doubt hesitant to express discontent or difference with basic government policy, for fear of being judged counterrevolutionary. Fidel has said: "Within the Revolution, everything is possible; outside the Revolution, nothing."

We recognize the reasons for strict vigilance in the country — U.S. government hostility and the antagonism of Cuban exiles. From time to time attempts at sabotage are made by small bands of exiles who come ashore in remote spots. An exhibit near our hotel displayed weapons and other equipment captured from saboteurs of this type. Shortly before we arrived in Cuba, Cuban-Mexican relations were disturbed by the Cuban exposure, with ample evidence, that a high-ranking Mexican diplomat in Havana was working for the CIA.

In any dynamic society differences in analysis and outlook are sure to exist. Unless opportunity for their expression is provided, discontent is bound to grow. We talked with persons who were critical, including teen-agers who had no fear of openly expressing their views on a street corner. It seems that the Government is permitting this expression so long as no counterrevolutionary action is taken. Florida radio programs are accessible to Cubans, with no apparent Government effort to restrict listening.

(2) Much of the activity in revolutionary Cuba is organized along military lines and there is universal military conscription requiring three years of service. School classes move from room to room in drill formation. The youth column is armed and officered just as if it were a combat unit. Many persons wear sidearms. All of this is understandable in light of the security problems mentioned above and the key role of the Revolutionary Armed Forces in the liberation of the country and since. However, even in a revolutionary society, the historic practice of the military, to issue orders from the top and discourage initiative by the rank and file, may well have a negative influence on long-term development.

(3) Motivation is hard to instill in some individuals in a society which provides for the basic needs of its citizens and thus has eliminated the threat of extreme want which motivated many workers in pre-revolutionary Cuba. Absenteeism is frequently referred to by the Cuban leadership as a threat to increased production. On-the-job training, lectures on revolutionary orientation and stress on emulation of party members are among the techniques used to encourage productive effort.

(4) Other problems which came to our attention were (a) the shortage of skilled people due to large-scale emigration of middle- and upper-class Cubans, a problem only now beginning to be solved through stepped-up education, which itself means that many teachers are only a bit more advanced than their pupils; (b) the difficulties in maintenance of equipment in industry, agriculture and transport due to inadequate numbers of experienced technicians and continuing shortages of repair parts*; (c) wasted time due to overlapping bureaucracies and the long *colas* (lines) in which people have to stand while shopping; (d) the damage to morale from restrictions on consumption.

Assessment

Taken over-all, the problems just detailed must be seen within the context of a country only ten years into very radical change. Before 1959 American interests dominated the country's one-sided development. Mistakes, some severe, have been made and admitted, and the leadership seems to have been learning. Our impression is that the Cuban Revolution is today a going concern.

What is most impressive is that this government has given first priority to solving the basic problems that plague every society in Latin America: absentee ownership and exploitation of resources, ownership of arable land limited to a small portion of the citizens (in Latin America generally, except for Mexico and Cuba, 5 per cent of the population owns 50 per cent of the arable land) and the gap between the privileged elite and the poverty-stricken masses. Elsewhere in the Third World most of the poor people suffer from neglect and exploitation, the "violence of the status quo." Today in terms of distribution of health services, education and housing, Cuban society is considerably advanced in comparison with its neighbors. We saw no signs of starvation or hunger anywhere on the island despite the rigorous rationing of food. Shoes, although rationed, are available to all citizens.

According to Fidel, Cuba is now turning back some 31 per cent of its gross national product into developing and expanding its economy. There is not much left for consumer needs. One might say that the meat, milk, fruit and eggs *not* being consumed by Cubans today are paying for fertilizer and cement plants, irrigation and new agricultural developments which should enrich the environment and provide more food for all tomorrow. All food staples except salt are rationed equitably, but this is a hardship only for people who had more in the past.

Most of the immense reinvestment — comparable to Russia or China at the time of their peak development efforts — goes to the countryside, where Fidel promises, there will be a 15 per cent annual increase in agricultural production over the next 12 years. If such an increase were to be achieved every year — by no means a certainty, for such predictions have usually been over-optimistic in the past — it would mean an agricultural expansion of seven times the population growth rate. In most other Latin American countries, increases in food production barely keep pace with or are surpassed by increases in population.

* This was mentioned in particular in relation to the large fleet of Leyland busses (British) which provide transportation for most of the almost two million residents of greater Havana. But disrepair of tractors on collective farms was also mentioned in a *Granma* article. (*Granma* is the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.)

This investment that has been made in facilities and infrastructure is only now beginning to yield results. In the coming decade progress should accelerate rapidly. On agriculture, for example, the U.S. Department of Agriculture in its recent survey "Agriculture in Cuba" (June 1969) makes this observation: "Cuba has the potential for a greatly expanded agricultural output ... and the long-term prospects for increased production are good, given time and outside financial and technical assistance. In terms of natural resources, Cuba is well suited for the development of a wide variety of crop and livestock products..."

We believe that the United States Government should adopt a new policy toward Cuba, realistically accepting Cuba's Revolutionary Government as solidly established and recognizing that its social and economic programs are improving the welfare of the general population. We suggest the following actions as just and suitable steps the United States could take to improve relations with Cuba:

1. End the trade embargo against Cuba.
2. Seek a renewal of cultural and diplomatic relations.
3. Terminate the Guantánamo naval base arrangement, which the Cubans consider a violation of their territorial integrity.
4. Remove restrictions which inhibit U.S. citizens' travel to Cuba and Cubans' visiting this country.
5. Vigorously enforce laws against the use of U.S. territory or resources for preparing or staging anti-Cuban invasions or acts of sabotage.
6. Cease espionage activities against Cuba.

APPENDIX

Itinerary

AFSC MISSION TO CUBA October 1-November 7, 1969

THIS ITINERARY includes time spent in Mexico prior to departure for Cuba as well as time in Philadelphia, Washington and New York following our return from Cuba.

October 1, Wednesday

Russell Johnson, William Jeffries and James Newton arrive at Mexico City airport and are met by Rafael Ruiz. Hospitality at Casa de Los Amigos.

October 2, Thursday

Obtain Cuba visas at Cuban Consulate.

To Departamento de Población, Ministerio de Gobernación, to deliver passports, visas, tourist cards, and letters requesting permission to return via Mexico.

Visits to Cubana de Aviación, American Airlines, Eastern Airlines to arrange flights.

At Gobernación, chance encounter with Cuban refugee family who told of hunger strike at La Cabaña, a prison near Havana.

October 3, Friday

Day of Tourism: Pyramids, Museum of Archaeology.

October 4, Saturday

To Gobernación, for documents and authorization to return from Cuba.

To American Airlines to revise flight schedules; Cubana airlines, where we learn of plane delays and elect to leave Oct. 5 (one day early). RR and JN visit Puebla.

October 5, Sunday

8:30 Airport, processing at Migración.

11:35 Board plane for Cuba. On plane, meet wife of Canadian anthropologist in Cuba.

4:20 Met by ICAP's Valdés at José Martí International Airport, Havana. Juan Cabanes, our guide for the entire visit to Cuba, comes with chauffeur to take us to

Hotel Habana Libre, where we meet ICAP's Orlando Rodriguez and are shown to our rooms.

Evening, Dinner in dining room at Habana Libre, unescorted visit to Sala de Exposiciones near hotel (multi-media shows, captured American weapons, colored lights).

October 6, Monday

12:40 Cabanes returns with Felipe Latrán (ICAP official); until nearly 5:00 p.m. (lunch included) we negotiate our itinerary with them.

5:00 A Quaker graduate student arrives at our invitation.

6:00 Cabanes returns with Manuel Lee (Betty Nute's guide in June).

10:00 Chance encounter with a U.S. journalist becomes a long, fruitful discussion.

October 7, Tuesday

10:00-noon, Tour of Havana: *malecón* (waterfront), Morro Castle, Plaza de la Catedral, Vía Blanca past Military Hospital and through La Habana del Este (housing development), across town to Zona Escolar. Also Havana Bay.

4:30 Interview with Doan Van (First Secretary) and Hoang-Hier (Third Secretary) at Embassy of Democratic Republic of Vietnam.
Evening, Independent strolls around city.

October 8, Wednesday

10:15 Taller de Artesanía (arts and crafts workshops).

2:30 ICAIC (Institute of Cinematographic Arts and Industries); saw films on Hurricane Flora, religious cults, interest clubs program for youth, oppression of black Americans (this last a powerful film entitled "Now").

8:30 Official of MINREX (Ministry of Foreign Relations), a participant in one of RJ's AFSC Quaker Conferences for Diplomats in India, and a leading Protestant minister arrive virtually simultaneously at our invitation. Discussion in our rooms.

October 9, Thursday

Morning, Escuela Primaria (Primary School) Juan Manuel Márquez, reached by driving some 25 miles northeast along the coast, past Guanabo and Brisas del Mar. 306 students, kindergarten to sixth grade. Hostess: Galería González Prieto, Director.

1:25 Brief stop at resort Atlántico near Playa Sta. María; encounter Néstor García, responsible for international relations for University of Havana.

5:10 Interview with Osvaldo Triana, member of 19-man directorate of Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, in national CDR headquarters.

8:45 Visit in home of a Canadian anthropologist, a teacher at the University of Santa Clara, Las Villas, in Cuba since 1965; wife (child psychiatrist, once cooked bagels and spaghetti for Fidel); friend, now film director with ICAIC. Return to Habana Libre.

October 10, Friday

About 6:00 a.m. Depart Havana in Russian twin-engine turbo-prop Antonov-24 plane.

8:20 Arrive Santiago de Cuba, Oriente Province. Meet Machín of ICAP. Hospitality at Hotel Versalles, lovely and modern and built by the Revolution.

4:20 Visit to Siboney farm, where Fidel prepared for Moncada attack, July 26, 1953. Later, visit to Moncada, now a school with 2700 primary students and 800 secondary. We tour the small museum with guide Elba Ojea, who lived near there and witnessed the attack.

October 11, Saturday

Morning, Mayarí Arriba, where Raúl Castro set up Comandancia of Second Front

Frank País; Homer Rodríguez is our museum guide, with little daughter Marisen. In the town, we visit Círculo Infantil Jardín de los Serranitos.
5:00 We take a tour on the tourist highway in area near Santiago de Cuba. Then visit Distrito José Martí, probably the loveliest housing development in Cuba.
9:30 Interview with a prominent Catholic leader at our initiative. A young layman drives us to and from the appointment.

October 12, Sunday

10:20 Begin drive to Manzanillo.
11:20 Arrive Contramaestre to visit Carlos Manuel de Céspedes dam.
5:45 Arrive Manzanillo. Hospitality in Hotel Casablanca.
Before dinner, a drive around town.

October 13, Monday

9:15 Ciudad Pesquera (Fishing City), a fishing cooperative near Manzanillo.
11:00 National Monument of Independence in Parque Nacional de la Demajague, where Céspedes burned his sugar mill, freed his slaves and began independence war in 1868.
2:15 Depart Manzanillo en route to Santiago de Cuba. Another visit to Distrito José Martí and the slum *barrio* it is replacing.
9:30 Interview with pastor at Hotel Versalles, at our invitation.

October 14, Tuesday

Return to Havana on Ilyushin four-engine prop plane.
3:30 Interview with a high Catholic official.
5:30 Visit with Homer León, Ila Warner, Mary Todd, Alberto Rubiera in English-language section of *Granma* weekly review, at our initiative.

October 15, Wednesday

10:15 Command Post of Cordón de la Habana (green belt).
11:15 Auto tour of Cordón.
12:15 Lunch at Río Cristal.
2:45 Rosafré Signet Artificial Insemination Center (for cattle).
Evening, WJ attends service at a Baptist Church. Later discussion with American working with OSIAAL and a professor at the National Fishing School.

October 16, Thursday

9:45 Ciudad Libertad (Liberty City) and Museum of Literacy. Guide, Antonio Martiatú. Lunch at the lavish restaurant "1830."
3:00 H. Upmann tobacco factory, operated by Cubatabaco, the national tobacco enterprise.
Evening, Visit with a minister's family; WJ informal interview with mechanic.

October 17, Friday

Morning, begin drive westward toward Pinar del Río.
1:30 Arrive at Pinar del Río.
Lunch and dinner at Los Jasmines hotel in Valle de Viñales, Cordillera de los Organos. Afternoon, Visit to Raul Sánchez Provincial School of Art in Pinar del Río. Hospitality at provincial ICAP house.

October 18, Saturday

Cancelled planned visit to rehabilitated prisoners' center at Sandino because of storm.
Morning, Visit to tobacco experimentation center in San Juan y Martínez.
Lunch in home of engineer at experimentation center, with him, municipal PCC Secretary, Bulgarian technician, others.
Return to Havana.

October 19, Sunday

Leave Havana for Varadero, resort area of Matanzas Province. Hospitality at Varadero Internacional.
Spend day relaxing. Evening at cabaret in the Varadero Internacional.

October 20, Monday

Morning, Drive through Matanzas and Las Villas provinces to Cienfuegos.
12:34 Arrive at Hotel El Jagua in Cienfuegos. Met by ICAP man and PCC's Agustín Díaz.
3:30 Fertilizer plant being built by Brigada Comunista de Construcción y Montaje.
5:20 Sugar reception center.

October 21, Tuesday

Morning, drive from Cienfuegos to Trinidad.
11:10 Arrive Trinidad. Hospitality at Hotel Las Cuevas.
11:45 Tour of Trinidad with Joaquín Sequera, town historian. Lunch with Sequera.
2:45 Drive into Sierra del Escambray, to school city of Topes de Collantes, in little Soviet Volga car.
Evening, WJ walks into Trinidad; RJ chats with hotel's black manager, then RJ and JN talk with cleaning lady and kitchen man behind dining room.

October 22, Wednesday

Morning, Drive to Camagüey.
11:40 Rest and lunch stop at Hotel Santiago-Habana in Ciego de Ávila. Meet PCC's María Dolores.
4:10 Arrive ICAP House, Camagüey. Met by Raúl Barredo Acosta, the Delegado Provincial. Hospitality in Gran Hotel.
Evening, RJ and JN wander into Catholic Church Nuestra Señora de la Soledad and have long interview with very bitter layman.
Later evening, RR, WJ and JN visit two pastors at our initiative.

October 23, Thursday

10:00 To Central Panamá, a sugar mill in Vertientes (near Camagüey).
3:30 Headquarters for Triángulo Lechero (area where intensive milk and beef production will take place) with tour of area and visits to model cattle sheds.
Evening, RJ and JN see film *Satánicamente Tuya*, then take a walk and meet students at Escuela Secundaria Para Atletas. WJ and RR interview local Protestant minister and physician in private practice.

October 24, Friday

10:30 Arrive town of Florida to visit Plan Florida (rice production). Host: Gerardo Breña, PCC.
Lunch with Breña in a small restaurant in Florida; also Luis Rodríguez, another PCC official.
3:10 Rice mill, Molino Arrocero Libertad INRA Zona C-20. Then visit vast, wet rice fields.
Evening, WJ visits a minister. JN and RR take long walk and chat with numerous teen-agers.

October 25, Saturday

10:25 Arrive Nuevitas. RR stays home sick. Host, PCC's Ángel Salabarilla. Visit cement factory called "26 de Julio."
Lunch and singing with Ángel in new hotel, Caunaba.
2:45 Thermoelectric plant "10 de octubre"; host at factory is Nelson Marrero.
9:20 Interview with political officer of Coluna Juvenil del Centenario (Youth Column of the Centennial) at their Estado Mayor; in Camagüey again.

Late, RR and JN walk and talk with more kids.

October 26, Sunday

Morning, Return to Havana.

Evening, Dinner with a friend; then RJ, RR and JN have long chat with her while WJ attends service at Methodist Church, is introduced, talks with parishioners and pastor.

October 27, Monday

10:00 Psychiatric Hospital at edge of city. Host, Sydney Orrett, subdirector of hospital.

4:00 Escuela Superior de Educación Física (physical education high school) for teachers. Host at the school, Osmín Martín, psychology teacher.

6:30 JN visits Escuela Primaria Adalberto Gómez Nuñez, near Habana Libre (unannounced).

Dinner with a minister and his wife in Habana Libre at our invitation.

October 28, Tuesday

Morning, Mexican Consulate to get stamp on letter of permission to return via Mexico.

Unplanned stop at malecón, where children are tossing flowers to sea in honor of Camilo Cienfuegos.*

Unscheduled visit to North Korean Embassy, where we are warmly greeted by Pak O.

3:10 Interview with an official of PCC responsible for religious affairs.

Evening, WJ and JN visit in home of a young architect we met by chance and his wife. They're in early twenties; artists.

Dinner, Discussion with two North Americans at Habana Libre Hotel, at our invitation.

October 29, Wednesday

Morning, WJ, RJ and RR visit Hemingway Museum in morning. JN walks in Havana, taking pictures.

1:30 Lunch with Havana Quaker in Habana Libre, at our invitation.

3:40 Brief drive through new agricultural town of Machurucuto, near Niña Bonita.

3:50 Visit to Plan Experimental Genético (Experimental Genetics plan) Niña Bonita, having to do with cattle. Our guide is Ángela Quesada, Secretary to the Director.

8:00 Visit with Pak and Pak O of North Korean (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) Embassy, in Pak's home, at their invitation. We see films on New Korea (3 hours) and the capture of the USS Pueblo (45 minutes), then talk about AFSC for one hour.

October 30, Thursday

Morning, RJ, WJ and JN interview Néstor García, responsible for International Relations for University of Havana.

Lunch with young woman, a medical student in University of Havana.

4:10 University City José Antonio Echeverría (technical university near Havana).

9:40 Visit to Tribunal Popular No. 8, Havana.

11:00 Discussion and ice cream with friends.

October 31, Friday

Early morning, Prepare to depart by air from Havana. Three friends are there to see us off and give us gifts. Plane requires repairs and 7:40 departure is delayed until 12:15 p.m.

On plane, RJ chats with Charge d'Affaires of Indian Embassy in Cuba.

2:51 Arrive Mexico City.

*Cienfuegos was a major during the Revolution. His plane was lost in the ocean during a flight to Havana from Camaguey, where he had gone to arrest Hubert Matos.

November 1-2, Saturday and Sunday

Flight from Mexico City to Philadelphia, with customs stop in San Antonio. Evening in Philadelphia.

November 3, Monday

AFSC staff meeting (RJ, RR and JN present; WJ visits at home.)

11:00 Meeting with Press Relations and Summer Projects Abroad staff of AFSC.

Luncheon open to all staff.

2:00 Meeting with Press Relations staff.

Evening, Metroliner to Washington.

November 4, Tuesday

11:30 Conference with Hurwitz (Dep. Ass't Sec'y of State, Economic Affairs), George Lister (Special Ass't. to Sec'y Meyer, Latin American Affairs) and others at State Department.

12:30 Lunch with one dozen Representatives (sponsored by Fraser and Morse).

2:30 WJ and RR with Sen. Mondale.

3:00 RJ and JN with Adams, Lister, one other at State Department.

5:30 Interview with Dick Dudman (St. Louis Post-Dispatch).

November 5, Wednesday

10:30 Press Conference at National Press Club.

12:15 Lunch at William Penn House with NGO people and legislative aides.

Afternoon, Interviews with Congressmen (including Hamilton, Gallagher, Wolff); Later, JN and Dave Hartsough (FCNL) spend four hours with a State Department official while others meet with Pat Holt, Latin American staff man for Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

November 6, Thursday

Lunch with Senators, including Fulbright, Church, Hart, Pell, Young.

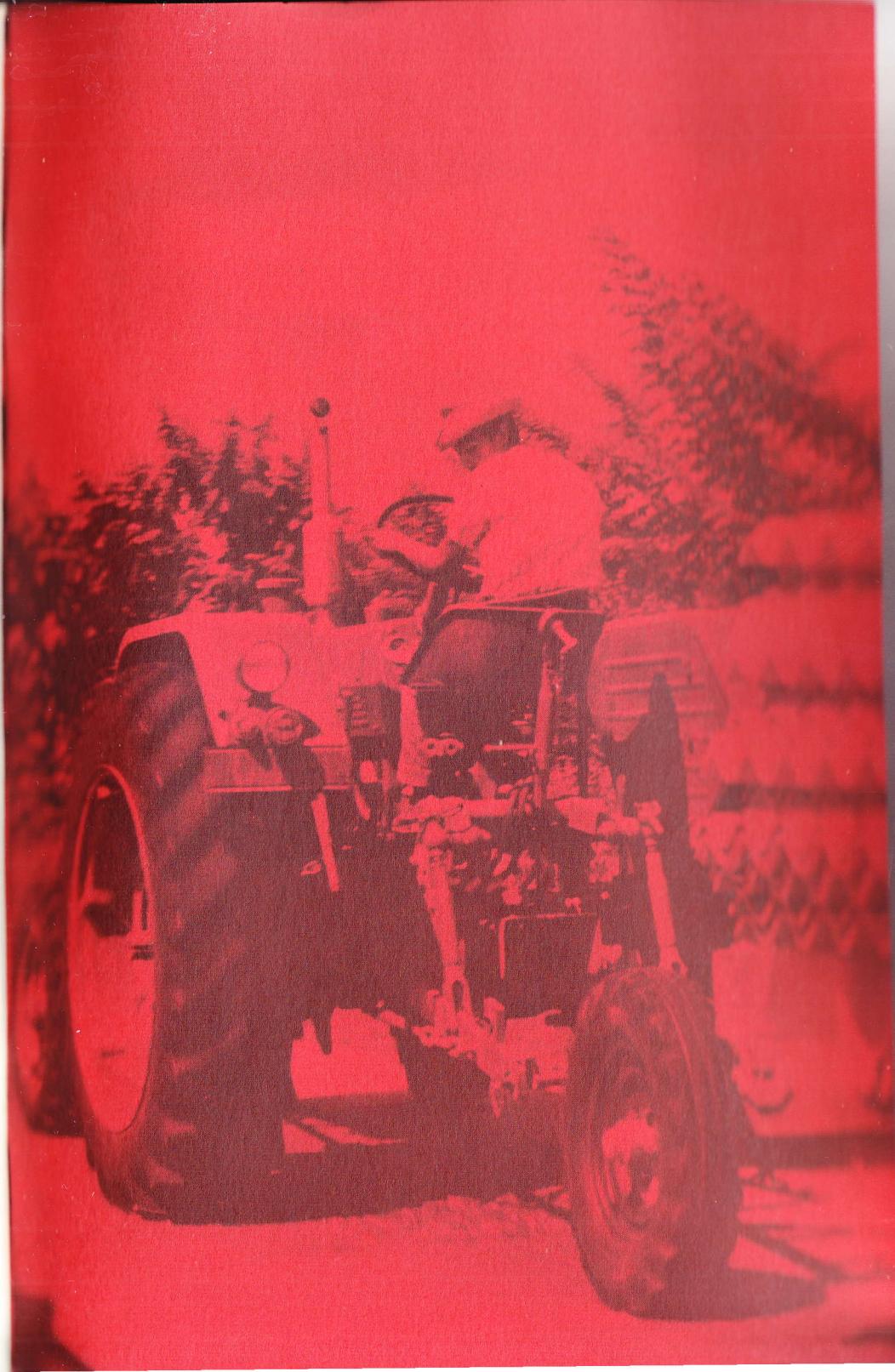
Balance of day spent with Representatives and Legislative aides.

November 7, Friday

Afternoon and evening, meeting with Antonio Bruno Fernández of Cuban Mission to the United Nations. AFSC staff present: Betty Nute (QUNO), Russ Johnson, Jamie Newton, Raf Ruiz, Bill Dreyer (Philadelphia), George Marshfield, Barry Hollister.

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TO THE REVOLUTION
A QUAKER VISIT
AFTER
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